

# LEYCESTERS

Common-wealth :

CONCEIVED,  
SPOKEN, AND

published with most ear-  
nest protestation of all du-

tifull good will and affe-

ction towards this

Realme ;

For whose good onely it is  
made common to many.

---

Iob 20.27.

*The heavens shall reveale his iniquity, and the earth  
shall rise up against him.*

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Printed, 1641.

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# THE EPISTLE DIRECTORY,

TO

M. G. M. IN GRATIOUS  
Street in *London*.

**D**Eare and loving friend, I received about tenne daies agoon your letter of the 9. of this present : wherein you demand and solite againe the thing , that I so flatly denied you , at my late being in your chamber : I meane to put in writing the relation which then I made unto you, of the speech had this last Christmas in my presence, betweene my right worshipfull good friend and patron , and his guest the old Lawyer, of some matters in our state and country. And for that you presse me very seriously at this instant, both by request and many reasons, to yeeld to your desire herein , and not only this, but also to give my consent for the publishing of the same, by such secret meanes as you assure me

## The Epistle Dedicatory.

you can there find out: I have thought good to confer the whole matter with the parties themselves, whom principally it concerneth (who at the receipt of your letter were not far from me:) And albeit at the first I found them averse and nothing inclined to grant your demand: yet after upon consideration of your reasons, and assurance of secrecie (especially for that there is nothing in the same contained, repugnant to charity or to our bounden duty towards our most gracious Princes or Countrey, but rather for the speciall good of them both, and for the forewarning of some dangers imminent to the same) they have referred over the matter to mee, yet with this Proviso, that they will know nothing, nor yet yeeld consent to the publishing hereof, for feare of some future flourish of the ragged Staffe to come hereafter about their eares, if their names should breake forth: which (I trust) you will provide shall neuer happen, both for their security, and for your own. And with this I will end, assuring you that within these five or six dayes, you shall receive the whole in writing by another way and secret meanes, neither shall the bearer suspect what he carrieth: wherof also I thought good to premonish you. And this shall suffice for this time.

THE



THE  
PREFACE OF THE  
CONFERENCE.



Ot long before the last *Scholar*.  
Christmasse, I was  
requested by a letter  
from a very worshipfull  
and grave Gentleman,  
whose sonne was then  
my pupill in *Cambridge*, to repaire with  
my said *Scholar* to a certaine house of  
his neare *London*, and there to passe over  
the Holy-dayes in his company: for The occasion  
that it was determined that in *Hillary* of this confe-  
tearme following, his said sonne should rence and  
be placed in some Inne of Chancery, to meeting.  
follow the study of the Common-law,  
and so to leave the Vniversity. This re-  
quest was gratefull unto mee in respect  
of the time, as also of the matter, but  
especially of the company. For that, as  
I love much the yong Gentelman, my  
pupill, for his towardlines in religion,  
learning, and vertue: so much more I  
doe reverence his Father, for the riper  
possession

*The Preface.*

possession of the same ornaments, and for his great wisdom, experience, and grave judgement in affaires of the world that do occurre: but namely touching our own Country, wherein truly I do not remember to have heard any man in my life, discourse more substantially, indifferently, and with lesse passion, more love and fidelity, then I have heard him. Which was the cause that I tooke singular delight to be in his company, and refused no occasion to enjoy the same. Which also he perceiving, dealt more openly and confidently with me, then with many other of his friends, as by the relation following may well appeare.

The persons and  
place of this conference.

When I came to the foresaid House by *London*, I found there among other friends, an ancient man that professed the law, and was come from *London* to keepe his Christmas in that place, with whom at divers former times I had been well acquainted, for that he haunted much the company of the said Gentleman my friend, and was much trusted and used by him in matters of his profession, and not a little beloved also for his good conversation, notwithstanding some difference in religion between us. For albeit, this Lawyer was inclined to be

*The Preface.*

be a Papist, yet was it with such moderation and reservation of his duty towards his Prince and Countrey and proceedings of the same : as he seemed alwaies to give full satisfaction in this point to us that were of contrary opinion.

Neither did he let to protest oftentimes with great affection, that as he had many friends & kinsfolk of contrary religion to himselfe : so did he love them nevertheless for their different conscience, but leaving that to God, was desirous to doe them any friendship or service that he could, with all affection, zeale, and fidelity. Neither was he wilfull or obstinate in his opinion, and much lesse reproachfull in speech ( as many of them be ) but was content to heare whatsoever we should say to the contrary ( as often we did : ) and to read any booke also that we delivered him, for his instruction.

Which temperate behaviour, induced this Gentleman and me, to affect the more his company, and to discourse as freely with him in all occurrents, as if he had been of our own religion.

A temperate  
Papist.



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## THE ENTRANCE TO THE MATTER.



One day then of the Christmasse, we three retiring our selves after dinner, into a large Gallery, for our recreation, (as often wee were accustomed to doe, when o-ther went to cards and other pastimes : ) this Lawyer by chance had in his hand a little booke, then newly set forth, containing *A defence of the publique justice done of late in England, upon divers Priests and other Papistes for treason* : Which book, the Lawyer had read to himselfe a little before, and was now putting it up into his pocket ; But the Gentleman my friend, who had read over the same once or twice in my company before, would needs take the same into his hand againe, and asked the Lawyer his judgement upon the booke.

The booke of  
Justice.

The Lawyer answered : That it was evill penned in his opinion to prove the guiltines of some persons therein named in particular, as also to perswade in generall, that the Papistes both abroad and at home, who meddle so earnestly with defence and increase of their religion (for these are not all, said he) doe consequently wish and labour some change in the state : but yet whether so farre forth, and in so deepe a degree of proper treason, as here in this booke both in  
Lawyer.  
gene-

generall and particular: presumed and enforced, that (quoth he) is some what hard (I weene) for you or me (in respect of some other difference between us) to judge or discern with indifferency.

*Gentleman.*

*The Papists  
practices against  
the state.*

Nay truly said the Gentleman, for my part I thinke not so, for that reason is reason in what religion soever. And for my selfe, I may protest, that I beare the honest Papist (if there be any) no malice for his deceived conscience, wherof among others, your selfe can be a witnes: may his Practices against the state, I cannot in any wise digest: and much lesse may the Common-wealth beare the same ( wherof we all depend, ) being a sinne of all other, the most hainous, and least pardonable. And therefore seeing in this, you grant the Papist both in generall abroad, and at home, and in particular such as are condemned, executed and named in this booke to be guilty: how can you insinuate ( as you doe ) that there is more presumed or enforced upon them by this booke, then there is just cause so to doe?

*Lawyer.*

*Two sorts of  
dealing against  
the state.*

*Directly.*

*Indirectly.*

Good Sir, said the other, I stand not here to examine the doings of my superiours, or to defend the guilty, but wish hartily rather their punishment that have deserved the same. Only this I say, for explication of my former speech: that men of a different religion from the state wherein they live, may be said to deale against the same state in two sorts: the one, by dealing for the increase of their said different religion, which is alwaies either directly, or indirectly against the state, (Directly) when the said religion containeth any point or article directly impugning the said state, ( as perhaps you will say that the Roman Religion doth against the present state of England in the point of Supremacy: ) and ( Indirectly ) for that every different religion divideth in a sort and draw



(3)

draweth from the state, in that there is no man who in his heart would not wish to have the chief Governour and state to be of his religion, if he could: and consequently mistaketh the other in respect of that: and in this kind, not only those whom you call busie Papists in England, but also those whom we call hot Puritans among you, (whose difference from the state especially in matters of government is very well known) may be called all traytors, in mine opinion: for that every one of these indeed, do labour indirectly, (if not more) against the state, in how much soever each one endeavoureth to increase his part or faction that desireth a Governour of his own religion.

And in this case also, are the Protestants in France and Flanders under Catholike Princes: the Calvinists (as they are called;) under the Duke of Saxony, who is a Lutheran: the Lutherans under *Casimere*, that favoureth Calvinists: the Grecians and other Christians under the Emperor of Constantinople, under the Sophy, under the great Chame of Tartary, and under other Princes that agree not with them in religion. All which Subjects doe wish (no doubt) in their hearts, that they had a Prince and state of their owne religion, instead of that which now governeth them: and consequently in this first sense, they may be called all traytors, and every act they doe for advancement of their said different religion (dividing between the state and them) tendeth to treason: which their Princes supposing, do sometimes make divers of their acts treasonable or punishable for treason. But yet so long as they breake not forth unto the second kind of treason which containeth some actuall attempt or treaty against the life of the Prince, or state, by rebellion or otherwise: Wee doe not properly condemne them

The state of all Subjects in a state of different religion.

The second kind of treason.

(4)

them for traytors, though they doe some acts of their religion made treason by the Prince his lawes, who is of a different faith.

The application  
of the former  
example,

And so to apply this to my purpose: I thinke, Sir, in good sooth, that in the first kind of treason, as well the zealous Papist, as also the Puritans in England, may well be called and proved traytors; but in the second sort (whereof wee speake properly at this time) it cannot be so precisely answered, for that there may be both guilt and guilties in each religion. And as I cannot excuse all Puritans in this point, so you cannot condemne all Papists, as long as you take me and some other to be as we are.

Gentleman.

I grant your distinction of treasons to be true, (said the Gentleman,) as also your application thereof to the Papists and Puritans (as you call them,) not to want reason, if there be any of them that mislike the present state (as perhaps there be:) all be it for my part, I thinke these two kinds of treasons, which you have put down, be rather divers degrees then divers kinds: wherein I will refer mee to the judgement of our Cambridge friend here present, whose skill is more in logicall distinctions. But yet my reason is this, that indeed the one is but a step or degree to the other, not differing in nature, but rather in time, ability or opportunity. For if (as in your former examples you have shewed) the Grecians under the Turke, and other Christians under other Princes of a different religion, and as also the Papists and Puritans (as you rearme them) in England (for now this word shall passe betwene us for distinction sake,) have such alienation of mind from their present regiment, and doe covet so much a governour and state of their owne religion: then no doubt but they are also resolute

Two degrees of  
treason.

resolved to imply their forces for accomplishing  
and bringing to passe their desires, if they had o-  
portunity: and so being now in the first degree or  
kind of treason, doe want but occasion or ability,  
to breake into the second.

True Sir, said the Lawyer, if there be no o- *Lawyer.*  
ther cause or circumstance that may withhold  
them.

And what cause or circumstance may stay them *Gentleman.*  
I pray you (said the Gentleman) when they shall  
have ability and oportunity to doe a thing which  
they so much desire?

Divers causes (quoth the Lawyer) but especi- *Lawyer.*  
ally and above all other (if it be at home in their  
owne Country) the fear of servitude under for-  
raine nations, may restraints them from such at-  
tempts: as we see in Germany that both Catho-  
liques and Protestants would joyne together, a-  
gainst any stranger that should offer danger to  
their liberty. And so they did against Charles the  
fifth. And in France not long agoe, albeit the Pro-  
testants were up in armes against their King, and  
could have been content, by the help of us in Eng-  
land, to have put him down, and placed an other  
of their own religion: yet when they saw us once  
seized of New-haven, and so like to proceed to France.  
the recovery of some part of our states on that side  
the Sea: they quickly joyned with their owne  
Catholiques againe to expell us.

In Flanders likewise, though Monsieur were *Flanders.*  
called thither by the Protestants, especially for de-  
fence of their religion, against the Spaniard: yet  
we see how dainty divers chief protestants of Ant-  
werp, Gaunt, and Bruges were, in admitting him,  
and how quick in expelling, so soon as he put them  
in the least feare of subjection to the French.

And as for Portugall, I have heard some of the *Portugal.*  
chiefest

chiefest Catholiques among them say, in this late contention about their Kingdome : that rather then they would suffer the Castilian to come in upon them, they would be content to admit whatsoever aids of a contrary religion to themselves, and to adventure whatsoever alteration in religion or other inconvenience might befall them by that means rather then endanger their subjection to their ambitious neighbour.

The old hatred of East Grecians towards the West Latins.

The like is reported in divers histories of the Grecians at this day, who doe hate so much the name and dominion of the Latines : as they had rather to endure all the miseries which dayly they suffer under the Turke for their religion and otherwise : then by calling for aid from the West to hazard the subjection to the said Latines. So that by these examples you see, that feare and horror of externall subjection may stay men in states, and consequently also both Papists and Puritans in the state of England, from passing to the second kind or degree of treason, albeit they were never so deepe in the first, and had both ability, time, will, and oportunity for the other.

Scholar.

Here I presumed to interrupt their Speech, and said : that this seemed to mee most cleare, and that now I understood what the Lawyer meant before, when he affirmed, that albeit the most part of Papists in generall might be said to deale against the state of England at this day, in that they deal so earnestly for the maintenance and increase of their religion, and so to incurre some kind of treason : yet ( perhaps ) not so far-forth nor in so deepe a degree of proper treason as in this booke is presumed or inforced : though for my part (said I) I do not see that the booke presumeth or inforceth all Papists in generall to be properly

Not all Papists properly traitors.

perly traytors, but onely such as in particular are therein named, or that are by law attainted, condemned or executed : and what will you say (quoth I) to those in particular ?

Surely (quoth he) I must say of these, much *Lawyer.*

after the manner which I spake before : that some here named in this book are openly knowne to have beene in the second degree or kind of treason : as *Westmerland*, *Norton*, *Sanders*, and the like. But divers others (namely the Priests and Seminaries that of late have suffered,) by so much as I could see delivered and pleaded at their arraignements, or heard protested by them at their deaths, or gathered by reason and discourse of my selfe, (for that no forraine Prince or wise counsellor would ever commit so great matters of state to such instruments :) I cannot (I say) but thinke, that to the wise of our state, that had the doing of this busines, the first degree of treason (wherein no doubt they were) was sufficient to dispatch and make them away : especially in such suspicious times as these are : to the end that being hanged for the first, they should never bee in danger to fall into the second, nor yet to draw other men to the same : which perhaps was most of all misdoubted.

The Priests and Seminaries that were executed.

After the Lawyer had spoken this, I held my *Gentleman.* peace, to heere what the Gentle man would answer: who walked up and down two whole turnes in the Gallery without yeelding any word again : and then staying upon the sudden, cast his eyes sadly upon us both, and said :

My masters, howsoever this be, which indeed appertaines not to us to judge or discuss, but rather to perswade our selves, that the state hath reason to do as it doth, and that it must oftentimes as well prevent

The considera-  
tions.

Misery moveth  
mercy.

A good wish.

prevent inconveniences, as remedy the same when they are happened: yet for my owne part I must confesse unto you, that upon some considerations which use to come unto my mind, I take no small griefe of these differences among us (which you terme of divers and different religions) for which we are driven of necessity to use discipline toward divers, who possibly otherwise would be no great malefactors. I know the cause of this difference is grounded upon a principle not easie to cure, which is the judgement and conscience of a man, whereunto obeyeth at length his will and affection, whatsoever for a time he may otherwise dissemble outwardly. I remember your speech before of the doubtfull and dangerous inclination of such as live discontented in a State of a different religion, especially, when either in deed, or in their owne conceipt, they are hardly dealt withall, and where every mans particular punishment is taken to reach to the cause of the whole.

I am not ignorant how that misery procureth amity, and the opinion of calamity moveth affection of mercy and compassion, even towards the wicked: the better fortune alway is subject to envie, and he that suffereth, is thought to have the better cause; my experience of the divers reignes and proceedings of King *Edward*, Queene *Mary*, and of this our most gracious Sovereigne hath taught me not a little, touching the sequell of these affairs. And finally (my good friends) I must tell you plaine (quoth he, and this he spake with great asseveration) that I could wish with all my heart, that either these differences were not among us at all, or else that they were so temperately on al parts pursued, as the common state of our country, the blessed reigne of her Majesty, and the common cause of true religion were not endangered

gered thereby. But now : and there he brake off, and turned aside.

The Lawyer seeing him hold his peace and depart, he stepped after him, and taking him by the gowne, said merrily ; Sir, all men are not of your complexion, some are of quicker and more stirring Spirits, and doe love to fish in water that is troubled, for that they doe participate the Black-moores humour, that dwell in *Guinea* (whereof I suppose you have heard and seene also some in this Land) whose exercise at home is (as some write) the one to hunt, catch, and sell the other, and alwayes the stronger to make money of the weaker for the time. But now if in England we should live in peace and unity of the state, as they doe in Germany, notwithstanding their differences of Religion, and that the one should not prey upon the other : then should the great Faulcons for the Field (I meane the favourites of the time) faile whereon to feed, which were an inconvenience as you know.

Lawyer.

The nature and practice of the Guineans.

Truly Sir, said the Gentleman, I thinke you have rove neerer the marke then you weene : for if I be not deceived ; the very ground of much of these broiles whereof we talke, is but a very prey : not in the minds of the Prince or State (whose intentions no doubt be most just and holy) but in the greedy imagination and subtile conceit of him, who at this present in respect of our sinnes, is permitted by God, to tyrannize both Prince and State : and being himselfe of no religion, feedeth notwithstanding upon our differences in religion, to the fattening of himselfe and ruine of the Realm. For whereas by the common distinction now received in speech, there are three notable differences of religion in the Land, the two extremes, whereof are the Papist and the Puritan, and the

Gentleman.

The Tyrant of English state.

Three differences of religion in England.



religious Protestant obtaining the meane : this fellow being neither, maketh his gaine of all : and as he seeketh a Kingdome by the one extreame, and spoile by the other : so he useth the authority of the third, to compasse the first two, and the counter-mine of each one, to the overthrow of all three.

*Scholar.*

The Earle of  
Leicester.

To this I answered : In good sooth Sir, I see now where you are : you are fallen into the common place of all our ordinary talke and conference in the University : for I know that you meane my Lord of *Leicester*, who is the subject of all pleasant discourses at this day throughout the Realme.

*Gentleman.*

Not so pleasant as pittifull, answered the Gentleman, if all matters and circumstances were well considered, except any man take pleasure to jest at our owne miseries, which are like to be greater by his iniquity (if God avert it not) then by al the wickednesse of England besides : he being the man that by all probability, is like to be the bane and fatall destiny of our State, with the everfion of true religion, whereof by indirect meanes, he is the greatest enemy that the Land doth nourish.

*Lawyer.*

Now verily (quoth the Lawyer) if you say thus much for the Protestants opinion of him, what shall I say for his merits towards the Papists ? who for as much as I can perceiue, doe take themselves little beholding unto him, albe it for his gaine he was some yeeres their secret friend against you : untill by his friends he was perswaded, and chiefly by the Lord *North* by way of policy, as the said Lord boasteth, in hope of greater gaine, to step over to the Puritans, against us both, whom notwithstanding it is probable, that he loveth as much, as he doth the rest.

The Lord Norths  
policy.



(II)

You know the Beares love, said the Gentleman, which is all for his own panch, and so this Bear-whelp, turneth all to his own commodity, and for greedinesse thereof, will overturn all if he be not stopped or muzled in time. *Gentleman.*

And surely unto me it is a strange speculation, whereof I cannot pick out the reason (but onely that I do attribute it to Gods punishment for our sinnes) that in so wise and vigilant a State as ours is, and in a Countrey so well acquainted and beate[n] with such dangers; a man of such a Spirit as he is knowne to be, of so extreme ambition, pride, falshood and trechery; so borne, so bred up, so nozled in treason from his infancy, descended of a tribe of traytours, and fleshed in conspiracy against the Royall blood of King *Henries* children in his tender yeeres, and exercised ever since in drifts against the same, by the blood and ruine of divers others: a man so well knowne to beare secret malice against her Majesty, for causes irreconcilable, and most dradly rancour against the best and wisest Councillours of her Highnesse: that such a one (I say so husefull) to God and man, and so markeable to the simplest Subject of this Land, by the publique enignes of his tyrannous purpose, should be suffered so many yeeres without checke, to aspire to tyranny by most manifest wayes, and to possesse himselfe (as now he hath done) of Court, Councill and Countrey, without controlement: so that nothing wanteth to him but onely his pleasure, and the day already conceived in his minde to dispose as he list, both of Prince, Crown, Realm, and Religion. *A strange speculation.*

It is much truly (quoth I) that you say, and it ministreth not a little mervaile unto many, whereof your Worshipp is not the first, nor yet the tenth *S. B. Lar.*

The Queens Ma-  
iesties most ex-  
cellent good na-  
ture.

person of accompt which I have heard discourse and complaine. But what shall I say hereunto? there is no man that ascribeth not this unto the singular benignity and most bountifull good nature of her Majesty, who measuring other men by her owne Heroicall and Princely sincerity; cannot easily suspect a man so much bounden to her grace, as he is, nor remove her confidence from the place, where she hath heaped so infinite benefits.

Gentleman.

No doubt (said the Gentleman) but this gracious and sweet disposition of her Majesty is the true originall cause thereof: which Princely disposition, as in her highnesse it deserveth all rare commendation, so lyeth the same open to many dangers oftentimes, when so benigne a nature meeteth with ingrate and ambitious persons: which observation perhaps, caused her Majesties most noble Grandfather and Father (two renowned wise Princes) to withdraw sometime upon the sudden, their great favour from certaine Subjects of high estate. And her Majesty may easily use her owne excellent wisdom and memory, to recall to minde the manifold examples of perillous haps fallen to divers Princes, by too much confidence in obliged proditors: with whom the name of a Kingdome, and one houres reigne, weyeth more, then all the duty, obligation, honesty, or nature in the world. Would God her Majesty could see the continuall feares that be in her faithfull Subjects hearts, whiles that man is about her noble person, so well able and likely (if the Lord avert it not) to be the calamity of her Princely blood and name.

Fears that Subjects have of my Lord of Leicester

Sir Francis Walsingham.

The talke will never out of many mouthes and minds, that divers ancient men of this Realme and once a wise Gentleman now a Councellour

had with a certaine friend of his, concerning the  
 presage and deep impression, which her Majesties  
 Father had of the house of Sir *Iohn Dudley*, to be  
 the ruine in time of his Majesties royall house  
 and blood, which thing was like to have been ful-  
 filled soon after (as all the world knoweth) upon  
 the death of King *Edward*, by the said *Dudley*, this  
 mans Father: who at one blow, procured to dis-  
 patch from a possession from the Crown, all three  
 children of the said noble King. And yet in the  
 midst of those bloody practices against her Ma-  
 jesty that now is and her sister (wherein also this  
 fellowes hand was so far, as for his age he could  
 thrust the same) within sixteen dayes before King  
*Edwards* death (he knowing belike that the King  
 should dye) wrote most flattering letters to the  
 Lady *Mary* (as I have heard by them who then  
 were with her) promising all loyalty and true ser-  
 vice to her, after the decease of her brother, with  
 no lesse painted words, then this man now doth  
 use to *Queene Elizabeth*. Deepe dissimula-  
tion.

So dealt he then with the most deare children  
 of his good King and Master, by whom he had  
 beene no lesse exalted and trusted, then this man  
 is by her Majesty. And so deeply dissembled he  
 then when he had in hand the plot to destroy them  
 both. And what then (alas) may not we feare and  
 doubt of this his son, who in outrageous ambition  
 and desire of reigne, is not inferiour to his Father  
 or to any other aspiring spirit in the world, but  
 far more insolent, cruell, vindicative, expert, po-  
 tent, subtile, fine, and fox-like then ever he was? I  
 like well the good motion propounded by the  
 foresaid Gentleman, to his friend at the same time, Sir Francis Wal-  
ingham.  
 and doe assure my selfe it would be most pleasant  
 to the Realme, and profitable to her Majesty, to  
 wit, that this mans actions might be called pub-  
 licke.

Edmund Dudley

Robert Dudley.

Lawyer.

Gentleman.

The Law against  
talking.

Actions of Lei-  
cester whereof  
he would have  
no speech.

liquely to triall, and liberty given to good Subjects to say what they knew against the same, as it was permitted in the first yeer of King *Henry* the eight against his Grandfather, and in the first of Queen *Mary* against his Father: and then I would not doubt, but if these two his Ancestors were found worthy to lose their heads for treason; this man would not be found unworthy to make the third in kindred, whose treacheries doe farre surpasse them both.

After the Gentleman had said this, the Lawyer stood still, somewhat smiling to himselfe, & looking round about him, as though he had bin halfe afraid, and then said; My masters, doe you read over or study the Statutes that come forth? have y<sup>e</sup>u not heard of the *proviso* made in the last Parliament for panishment of those who speake so broad of such men as my Lord of *Leicester* is?

Yes, said the Gentleman, I have heard how that my Lord of *Leicester* was very carefull and diligent at that time to have such a Law to passe against talkers: hoping (belike) that his L. under that generall restraint might lye the more quietly in harbor from the tempest of mens tongues, which tarried busily at that time, of divers his Lordships actions and affairs, which perhaps himself would have wished to passe with more secrecie. As of his discontentment and preparation to rebellion, upon *Monsieurs* first coming into the Land; of his disgrace and checks received in Court; of the fresh death of the noble Earle of *Essex*; & of this mans hasty snatching up of the widow, whom he sent up and downe the Countrey from house to house by privie wayes, thereby to avoid the sight & knowledge of the Queenes Majesty. And albeit he had not onely used her at his good liking before, for satisfying of his owne lust, but also married and

remarried

remarried her for contentation of her friends : yet denied he the same, by solemne oath to her Majesty, and received the holy Communion thereupon (to good a conscience he hath) and consequently threatned most sharpe revenge towards all subjects which should dare to speake thereof : and so for the concealing both of this and other his doings, which he desired not to have publike, no marvaile though his Lordship were so diligent a procurer of that law for silence.

Indeed (said I) it is very probable that his Lordship was in great distresse about that time, when *Monsieur's* matters were in hand, and that he did many things and purposed more, whereof he desired little speech among the people, especially afterwards, when his said designements tooke not place. I was my selfe that yeer not far from Warwick when he came thither from the Court a full Mile-content, and when it was thought most certainly throughout the Realm, that he would have taken armes soon after, if the marriage of her Majesty with *Monsieur* had gone forward. The thing in Cambridge and in all the Countrey as Frode; was in every mans mouth: and it was a wonder to see not onely the countenances, but also the behaviour, and to heare the bold speeches of all such as were of his faction.

My Lord himselfe had given out a little before at Killingworth, that the matter would cost many broken heads before Michaelmasse day next; and my Lord of *Warwick* had said openly at his table in Greenwich, *Sir Thomas Hennige* being by (if I be not deceived) that it was not to be suffered (I meane the marriage) which words of his once coming abroad (albeit miliked by his own Lady then also present) every Serving man and common companion, tooke then up in defence of his

*Sholar.*

*Leicesters preparatives to rebellion upon Monsieur's marriage.*

Lordships part against the Queenes Majesty. Such running there was, such sending and posting about the Realme, such amplification of the powers and forces of *Casimere* and other Princes, ready (as was affirmed) to present themselves unto his aid, for defence of the Realme and Religion against strangers: (for that was holden to be his cause) such numbring of parties and complices within the Realme, (whereof himselfe shewed the Catalogue to some of his friends for their comfort) such debasing of them that favoured the marriage (especially two or three Councellours by name, who were said to be the cause of all, and for that were appointed out to be sharply punished to the terrour of all others :) such letters were written and intercepted of purpose, importing great powers to be ready, and so many other things done and designed, tending all to manifest and open warre: as I began hartely to be afraid, and wished my selfe backe at Cambridge againe, hoping that being there, my Scholars gowne should excuse me from necessity of fighting, or if not, I was resolved (by my Lords good leave) to follow *Aristotle*, who preferreth alway the Lyon before the Beare; assuring my selfe withall, that his Lordship should have no better successe in this (if it came to triall) then his Father had in as bad a cause, and so much the more for that I was privie to the mindes of some of his friends, who ment to have deceived him, if the matter had broken out. And amongst other, there was a certain Vice-president in the World, who being left in the roome and absence of another, to procure friends; said in a place secretly not far from Ludlow, that if the matter came to blowes, he would follow his Mistresse, and leave his Master in the briars.

To Sir Thomas  
Layton.

L. Treasurer.  
L. Chamberlaine  
M. Controler.

Sir Thomas Hib-  
bot. j

Marry sir (qd the Gentleman) and I trow many more would have followed that example. For albeit I know, that the Papists were most named and misdoubted of his part, in that cause, for their open inclination towards *Monsieur*, & consequently, for greater discredit of the thing it selfe, it was given out every where by this Champion of religion, that her Majesties cause was the Papists cause (even as his Father had done in the like enterprise before him, though all upon dissimulation, as appeared at his death, where he professed himself an earnest Papist : ) yet was there no man so simple in the Realm, which descried not this vizard at the first : neither yet any good subject (as I suppose) who seeing her Majesty on the one part, would not have taken against the other part, what so ever he had beene. And much more the thing it selfe in controversie (I meane the marriage of her royall Majesty with the brother and heire apparent of France) being taken and judged by the best, wisest and faithfulllest Protestants of the Realme, to be both honourable, convenient, profitable and needfull. Whereby onely, as by a most soveraigne, and present remedy, all our maladies both abroad and at home, had at once been cured : all forraign enemies, and domestical conspirators, all differences, all dangers, all feares had ceased together : France had beene ours most assured ; Spaine would not a little have trembled ; Scotland had been quiet ; our competitors in England would have quaked ; and for the Pope he might have put up his pipes. Our differences in religion at home, had been either lesse, or no greater then now they are, for that *Monsieur* being but a moderate Papist, and nothing vehement in his opinions was content with very reasonable conditions, for himselfe and his strangers onely in use of their consci-

Gentleman.

Leicesters Father  
a traiterous Papist

The honour and  
commodities by  
the marriage  
with France.



Ethelbert King  
of Kent, converted  
An. Dom. 603

conscience not unlikely (truly) but that in time he might by Gods grace, and by the great wisdom and vertue of her Majesty have been brought also to embrace the Gospell, as King *Ethelbert* an heathen was by noble Queen *Bertha* his wife, the first Christian of our English Princes.

Unto all which felicity, if the Lord in mercy should have added also some issue of their royall bodies (as was not impossible, when first this noble match was moved,) we then (doubtlesse) had been the most fortunate people under heaven, and might have been (perhaps) the meane to have restored the Gospell throughout all Europe besides, as our Brethren of France well considered and hoped.

Of all which singular benefits both present and to come, both in *Re* and *Spe*, this tyrant for his own private lucre (fearing lest hereby his ambition might be restrained, and his treachery revealed) hath bereaved the Realme, and done what in him lyeth besides, to alienate for ever and make our mortall enemy this great Prince, who sought the love of her Majesty with so much honour & confidence as never Prince the like, putting twice his owne person in jeopardy of the Sea, and to the perill of his malicious enviers here in England, for her Majesties sake.

Lawyer.

When you speak of *Monsieur* (said the Lawyer) I cannot but greatly be moved, both for these considerations well touched by you, as also for some other; especially one wherein (perhaps) you will thinke me partiall, but truly I am not; for that I speake it onely in respect of the quiet and good of my Countrey, and that is, that by *Monsieurs* match with our noble Princeesse, besides the hope of issue (which was the principall) there wanted not also probability, that some union or little toleration in



in religion, between you and us, might have been procured in this state, as we see that in some other Countries is admitted to their great good. Which thing (no doubt) would have cut off quite all dangers and dealings from forraine Princes, & would have stopped many devises and plots within the Realme: whereas now by this breach with France, we stand alone as me seemeth without any great union or friendship abroad, and our differences at home grow more vehement and sharp then ever before. Upon which two heads, as also upon infinit other causes, purposes, drifts and pretences, there doe ensue daily more deepe, dangerous and desperate practises, every man using either the commodity or necessity of the time and state for his owne purpose, especially now when all men presume that her Majesty (by the continuall thwartings which have been used against all her marriage) is not like to leave unto the Realme, that precious jewell so much and long desired of all English hearts, I meane the Royall heires of her owne body.

Tolleration in Religion, with union in defence of our Country.

Thwartings call you the defeating of all her Majesties most honourable offers of marriage? (said the other) truly in my opinion you should have used another word to expresse the nature of so wicked a fact: wherby alone, if there were no other, this unfortunate man, hath done more hurt to this Common wealth, then if he had murdered many thousands of her subjects, or betrayd whole armies to the professed enemy. I can remember well my selfe, foure treatises to this purpose, undermined by his meanes: the first with the Swethen King, the second with the Archduke of Austria, the third with Henry King of France that now reigneth, and the fourth with the brother and heire of the said Kingdome. For I let passe many other

Gentlemen.

Divers marriages of her Majesty.

other secret motions made by great Potentates to her Majesty for the same purpose, but these foure are openly known, and therefore I name them. Which foure are as well knowne to have been all disturbed by this *Dawes*, as they were earnestly pursued by the other.

Leicesters devices to drive away all Sutors from her Majesty.

And for the first three Sutors, he drove them away, by protesting and swearing that himselfe was contracted unto her Majesty, wherof her highnesse was sufficiently advertised by Cardinall *Chatilian* in the first treaty for France, and the Cardinall soone after punished (as is thought) by this man with poyson. But yet this speech he gave out then, every where among his friends both strangers and others, that he, forsooth, was assured to her Majesty, and consequently that all other Princes must give over their suits, for him. Whereunto notwithstanding, when the Sweden would hardly give eare, this man conferred with his Privado to make a most unseemly and disloyal proof thereof, for the others satisfaction, which thing I am enforced by duty to passe over with silence, for honour to the parties who are touched therein: as also I am to conceale his said filthy Privado, though worthy otherwise for his dishonestly to be displayed to the world: but my Lord himselfe, I am sure, doth well remember both the man and the matter. And albeit there was no wise man at that time who knowing my Lord suspected not the falsehood, and his arrogant affirmation touching this contract with her Majesty, yet some both abroad and at home might doubt thereof perhaps: but now of late, by his knowne marriage with his Minion Dame *Lettrice of Essex*, he hath declared manifestly his owne most impudent and disloyall dealing with his soveraigne in this report.

Leicester convinced himselfe of impudency.

For that report (quoth the Lawyer) I know that *Lawyer.*  
 it was common, and maintained by many for di-

vers yeeres; yet did the wiser sort make no account thereof, seeing it came onely from himself, and in his own behalfe. Neither was it credible, that her Majesty who refused so noble Knights and Princes, as Europe hath not the like, would make choice of so meane a peere as *Robin Dudley*

The baseness of  
 Leicesters ancestors.

is, noble onely in two descents, and both of them stained with the block, from which also himselfe was pardoned but the other day, being codemned therunto by law for his desert, as appeareth yet in publick records. And for the widow of Essex, I marvaile sir (quoth he) how you call her his wife, seeing the Canon-law standeth yet in force touching matters of marriage within the Realme.

Anno 1. R. Mary.

Oh (said the Gentleman laughing) you meane for that he procured the poisoning of her husband in his journey from Ireland. You must think that Doctor *Dale* will dispence in that matter, as he did (at his Lordships appointment) with his Italian physician Doctor *Iulius*, to have two wives at

Gentleman.

Doctor Dale.

Doctor Iulio.

once; at the leastwise the matter was permitted, and born out by them both publicly (as all the world knoweth) and that against no lesse persons then the Archbishop of Canterbury himselfe, whose overthrow was principally wrought by this tyrant for contrarying his will, in so beastly a demand. But for this controversie whether the marriage be good or no, I leave it to be tried hereafter, between my yong Lord of Denbigh, and Master *Philip Sidney*, whom the same most concerneth: for that it is like to deprive him of a goodly inheritance, if it take place (as some will say that in no reason it can) not only in respect of the precedent adultery and murder betweene the parties; but also for that my Lord was contracted

The Archbishops  
 overthrow for  
 not allowing two  
 wives to Leicester  
 his Physician

at

The Lady Shef.  
field now Em-  
bassadresse in  
France.

The death of  
1. eicesters first  
Lady and wife.

Sir Richard Var-  
ney.

Bald Butler.

at least, to another Lady before, that yet liveth whereof Master *Edward Diar* and Master *Edmon Tiney*, both Courtiers, can be witnesses, and consummated the same contract by generation of children. But this (as I said) must be left to be tried hereafter by them who shall have most interest in the case. Onely for the present I must advertise you, that you may not take hold so exactly of all my L. doings in womens affaires, neither touching their marriages, neither yet their husbands.

For first his Lordship hath a speciall fortune, that when he desireth any womans favour, then what person so ever standeth in his way, hath the luck to dye quickly for the finishing of his desire. As for example, when his Lordship was in full hope to marry her Majesty, and his owne wife stood in his light, as he supposed; he did but send her aside to the house of his servant *Forster* of *Cumner* by *Oxford*, where shortly after she had the chance to fall from a paire of staires, and so to breake her neck, but yet without hurting of her hood that stood upon her head. But *Sir Richard Varney*, who by commandement remained with her that day alone, with one man onely, and had sent away perforce all her Servants from her, to a Market two miles off, he (I say) with his man can tell how she died, which man being taken afterward for a felony in the marches of *Wales*, and offering to publish the manner of the said murder, was made away privily in the prison: and *Sir Richard* himself dying about the same time in *London*, cried piteously and blasphemed God, and said to a Gentleman of worship of mine acquaintance, not long before his death, that all the devils in hell did teare him in pieces. The wife also of *Bald Butler* kinsman to my Lord, gave out the whole fact a little before her death. But to return

unto

unto my purpose, this was my Lords good fortune to have his wife dye, at that time when it was like to turne most to his profit.

Long after this he fell in love with the Lady *Sheffield*, whom I signified before, and then also had he the same fortune to have her husband dye quickly, with an extreame rheume in his head (as it was given out) but as others say, of an artificiall cararre that stopped his breath. The like good chance had he in the death of my Lord of *Essex* (as I have said before) and that at a time most fortunate for his purpose; for when he was coming home from Ireland, with intent to revenge himselfe upon my Lord of *Leycester*, for begetting his wife with childe in his absence (the childe was a daughter, and brought up by the Lady *Sbandois*, *W. Knooles* his wife:) my Lord of *Ley* hearing thereof, wanted not a friend or two to accompany the Deputy, as among other, a couple of the Earles owne servants, *Crompton* (if I misse not his name) yeoman of his bottles, and *Lloid* his Secretary, entertained afterward by my Lord of *Leycester*: and so he dyed in the way of an extreame flux, caused by an Italian *Recipe*, as all his friends are well assured; the maker whereof was a Chyrurgeon (as is beleeved) that then was newly come to my Lord from Italy: a cunning man, and sure in operation, with whom if the good Lady had bene sooner acquainted and used his helpe, she should not have needed to sitten so pensive at home and fearefull of her husbands former returne out of the same Countrey, but might have spared the yong childe in her belly, which she was enforced to make away (cruelly and unnaturally) for clearing the house against the good mans arrivall.

Neither must you marvaile though all these died in divers manners of outward diseases, for this

The suspicious death of the Lord Sheffield.

The poisoning of the Earle of Essex.

The shifting of a childe in dame Lettice belly.

The divers operation of Royle

Doctor Bayly the younger.

Death of Cardinall Chatilian.

Scholar.

is the excellency of the Italian art, for which this Chyrurgian and Doctor *Julio* were entertained so carefully, who can make a man dye, in what manner or shew of sicknesse you will: by whose instructions no doubt but his Lordship is now cunning, especially adding also to these the counsell of his Doctor *Bayly*, a man also not a little studied (as he seemeth) in his art: for I heard him once my selfe in publique Act in Oxford, and that in presence of my Lord of *Leicester*, (if I be not deceived) maintain, that poyson might so be tempered and given as it should not appeare presently, and yet should kill the party afterward at what time should be appointed. Which argument belike pleased well his Lordship, and therefore was chosen to be discussed in his audience, if I be not deceived of his being that day present. So, though one dye of a flux, and another of a catarre, yet this importeth little to the matter, but sheweth rather the great cunning and skill of the Artificer.

So Cardinall *Chatilian* (as I have said before) having accused my Lord of *Leicester* to the Queens Majesty, and after that, passing from London towards France about the marriage, died by the way at Canterbury of a burning fever: and so proved Doctor *Baylyes* assertion true, that poyson may be given to kill at a day.

At this the Lawyer cast up his eyes to heaven, and I stood somewhat musing and thinking of that which had beene spoken of the Earle of *Essex*, whose case indeed moved me more then all the rest, for that he was a very noble Gentleman, a great advancer of true Religion, a Patron to many Preachers and Students, and towards me and some of my friends in particular, he had beene in some things very beneficiall: and there-

therefore I said that it grieved me extreemly to heare or thinke of so unworthy a death contrived by such meanes to so worthy a Peere. And so much the more, for that it was my chance, to come to the understanding of divers particulars concerning that thing, both from one *Lea* an Irish-man, *Lea. Robin Honnies*, and others, that were present at *Honnies. Penicenis* the Merchants house in *Dublin* upon the Key, where the murder was committed. The matter was wroughc especially by *Crompton* yeoman of the bottels, by the procurement of *Lloyd* as you have noted before, and there was poysoned at the same time, and with the same cup (as given of curtesie by the Earle) one Mistresse *Alice Draykor*, a goodly Gentlewoman, whom the Earle affectioned much, who departing thence towards her owne house, (which was 18. miles off, the foresaid *Lea* accompanying her, and waiting upon her) she began to fall sick very grievously upon the way, and continued with increase of paines and excessive torments, by vomiting, untill she died, which was the Sunday before the Earles death, ensuing the Friday after; and when she was dead, her body was swolne unto a monstrous bignesse and deformity, whereof the good Earle hearing the day following, lamented the case greatly, and said in the presence of his Servants, Ah poore *Alice*, the cup was not prepared for thee, albeit it were thy hard destiny to taste thereof.

Mistress Draykor  
poisoned with  
the Earl of Essex

Yong *Honnies* also, whose father is Master of the children of her Majesties chappell, being at that time Page to the said Earle, and accustomed to take the taste of his drinke (though since entertained also among other by my Lord of *Leicester*, for better covering of matter) by his taste that he then rooke of the compound cup, (though in very



The Earle of  
Essex speech to  
his Page Robin  
Honnie.

small quantity, as you know the fashion is : ) yet was he like to have lost his life, but escaped in the end (being yong) with the losse onely of his haire; which the Earle perceiving, and taking compassion of the youth, called for a cup of drinke a little before his death, and drunke to *Honnies*, saying, I drinke to thee my *Robin*, and be not afraid, for this is a better cup of drinke then that whereof thou tookest the taste when we were both poysoned, and whereby thou hast lost thy haire and I must lose my life. This hath yong *Honnies* reported openly in divers places, and before divers Gentlemen of worship since his coming into England; and the foresaid *Lea* Irishman, at his passage this way towards France, after he had been present at the forenamed Mistris *Draykots* death, with some other of the Earles servants, have and doe most constantly report the same, where they may do it without the terrour of my Lord of *Leicesters* revenge. Wherefore in this matter there is no doubt at all, though most extreame vile and intollerable indignity, that such a man should be so openly murdered without punishment. What Noble-man within the Realme may be safe, if this be suffered? or what worthy personage will adventure his life in her Majesties service, if this shall be his reward? But, Sir, I pray you pardon me, for I am somewhat perhaps too vehement in the case of this my Patron and noble Peere of our Realme. And therefore I beseech you to goe forward in your talke whereas you left.

Gentleman.

Death of Sir Nicholas Throgmarton.

I was recounting unto you others (said the Gentleman) made away by my Lord of *Leicester* with like art, and the next in order I think was Sir *Nicholas Throgmarton*, who was a man whom my Lord of *Leicester* used a great while (as all the World know



knoweth) to overthwart and crosse the doings of my Lord Treasurer then Sir *William Cicill*, a man specially misliked alwayes of *Leicester*, both in respect of his old Master the Duke of *Somerset*, as also for that his great wisdom, zeale and singular fidelity to the Realme, was like to hinder much this mans designments; wherefore understanding after a certaine time that these two Knights were secretly made friends, and that Sir *Nicholas* was like to detect his doings (as he imagined) which might turne to some prejudice of his purposes: (having conceived also a secret grudge and griefe against him, for that he had written to her Majesty at his being Embassadour in France, that he heard reported at Duke *Almonces* table, that the Queene of England had a meaning to marry her Horsekeeper) he invited the said Sir *Nicholas* to a supper at his house in London, and at supper time departed to the Court, being called for, as he said, upon the sudden by her Majesty, and so perforce would needs have Sir *Nicholas* to sit and occupie his Lordships place, and therein to be served as he was: and soone after by a surfeit there taken, he died of a strange and incurable vomit. But the day before his death, he declared to a deare friend of his, all the circumstance and cause of his disease, which he affirmed plainly to be of poison, given him in a Salet at supper, inveying most earnestly against the Earles cruelty and bloody disposition, affirming him to be the wickedest, most perilous, and perfidious man under heaven. But what availed this, when he had now received the bait?

Sir William Ciccill now Lord Treasurer.

The poisoning of Sir Nicholas in a salet.

This then is to shew the mans good fortune, in seeing them dead, whom for causes he would not have to live. And for his art of poisoning, it is such

The Lord Cham-  
berlin.

Monfieur Simiers

The poisoning of  
the Lady Lenox.

now, and reacheth ſo far, as he holdeth all his foes in England and elſewhere, as alſo a good many of his friends in fear thereof, and if it were knowne how many he hath diſpatched or aſſaulted that way, it would be marvailous to the poſterity. The late Eale of *Suffex* wanted not a ſcruple for many yeers before his death, of ſome dram received, that made him incurable. And unto that noble Gentleman Monſieur *Simiers*, it was diſcovered by great providence of God, that his life was to be attempted by that art, and that not taking place (as it did not through his owne good circumſpection,) it was concluded that the ſame ſhould be aſſaulted by violence, whereof I ſhall have occaſion to ſay more hereafter.

It hath beene told me alſo by ſome of the ſervants of the late Lady *Lenox*, who was alſo of the blood Royall by Scotland, as all men know, and conſequently little liked by *Leiceſter*; that a little before her death or ſickneſſe, my Lord tooke the paines to come and viſit her with extraordinary kindneſſe, at her houſe at Hackney, beſtowing long diſcourſes with her in private: but as ſoone as he was departed, the good Lady fell into ſuch a flux, as by no meanes could be ſtayed ſo long as ſhe had life in her hody; whereupon both ſhe her ſelfe, and all ſuch as were neere about her, ſaw her diſeaſe and ending day, were fully of opinion, that my Lord had procured her diſpatch at his being there. Whereof let the women that ſerved her be examined, as alſo *Fowler* that then had the chiefe doings in her affaires, and ſince hath beene entertained by my Lord of *Leiceſter*. *Makes* alſo, a ſtranger borne, that then was about her, a ſober and zealous man in religion, and otherwiſe well qualified, can ſay ſomewhat in this point (as I thinke) if he were deman-

demanded. So that this art and exercise of poisoning, is much more perfect with my Lord then praying, and he seemeth to take more pleasure therein.

Now for the second point, which I named, touching marriages and contracts with Women: you must not marvaile though his Lordship be somewhat divers, variable and inconstant with himselfe, for that according to his profit or pleasure, and as his lust and liking shall vary (wherein by the judgement of all men, he surpasseth, not onely *Sardanapalus* and *Nero*, but even *Helio-gabalus* himselfe: ) so his Lordship alio changeth Wives and Minions, by killing the one, denying the other, using the third for a time, and he fawning upon the fourth. And for this cause he hath his tearmes and pretences (I warrant you) of Contracts, Precontracts, Postcontracts, Protracts and Retracts; as for example: after he had killed his first wife, and so broken that contract, then forsooth would he needs make himselfe Husband to the Queenes Majesty, and so defeat all other Princes by vertue of his precontract. But after this, his lust compelling to another place, he would needs make a postcontract with the Lady *Sheffield*, and so he did, begetting two children upon her, the one a boy called *Robin Sheffield* now living, some time brought up at Newington; and the other a daughter, borne (as is knowne) at *Dudley Castle*. But yet after, his concupiscence changed againe (as it never stayeth) he resolved to make a retract of this postcontract, (though it were as surely done (as I have said) as bed and Bible could make the same) and to make a certaine new protract, (which is a continuation of using her for a time) with the widow of *Essex*: but yet to stop the mouthes of

Leicesters most variable dealing with women in contracts and marriages.

Contracts.

Precontracts.

Postcontracts.

Retract.

Protract.

Leicesters two  
testaments.

out-criars, and to bury the Synagogue with some honour, (for these two wives of *Leicester* were merrily and wittily called his old and new Testaments, by a person of great excellency within the Realme) he was content to assigne to the former a thousand pounds in money with other petty considerations, (the pittifullest abused that ever was poore Lady) and so betake his lims to the latter, which latter notwithstanding, he so useth (as we see) now confessing, now forswearing, now dissembling the marriage; as he will alwayes yet keepe a void place for a new surcontract with any other, when occasion shall require.

Scholar.

Varius Heliogabalus, and his  
most infamous  
death.

An Epitaph.

A pittifull per-  
mission.

[? Now by my truth sir (quoth I) I never heard nor read the like to this in my life; yet have I read much in my time, of the carnality and licentiousness of divers outragious persons, in this kinde of sin, as namely these whom you have mentioned before; especially the Emperour *Heliogabalus* who passed all other, and was called *Varius*, of the varity of filth which he used in this kinde of carnality or carnall beastlinesse: whose death was, that being at length odious to all men, and so slain by his own Souldiers, was drawn through the City upon the ground like a dog, and cast into the common privy, with this Epitaph; *Hic projectus est in domitiae & rabide libidinis catulus*. Here is thrown in the Whelpe of unruly and raging lust: which Epitaph may also one day chance to serve my Lord of *Leicester* (whom you call the Beare-whelp) if he go forward as he hath begun, and dye as he deserveth.

But, good sir, what a compassion is this, that among us Christians, & namely in so wel governed and religious a Commonwealth as ours is, such a riot should be permitted upon mens wives, in a subject?

subject? whereas we read that among the very Heathens, lesse offences then these, in the same kinde, were extreamely punished in Princes themselves, and that not onely in the person delinquent alone, but also by extirpation of the whole family for his sake, as appeareth in the example of the *Tarquinius* among the Romans. And here also in our owne Realme, we have registered in Chronicle, how that one King *Edwin* above six hundred yeeres past, was deprived of his Kingdome, for much lesse scandalous facts then these.

The ex-cerpation  
of the *Tarquini-*  
*ans.*

Anno Dom. 959.

I remember well the story (quoth the Gentle-  
man) & thereby doe easily make conjecture, what  
difference there is betwixt those times of old, and  
our dayes now: seeing then, a crowned Prince  
could not passe unpunished with one or two out-  
ragious acts, whereas now a subject raised up but  
yetterday from the meaner sort, rangeth at his  
pleasure in all licentiousnesse, and that with secu-  
rity, void of feare both of God and man. No mans  
wife can be free from him, whom his fiery lust  
liketh to abuse, nor their husbands able to resist  
nor save from his violence, if they shew dislike, or  
will not yeeld their consent to his doings. And if  
I should discover in particular how many good  
husbands he had plagued in this nature, and for  
such delights, it were intolerable; for his concu-  
piscence and violence do run joyntly together, as  
in furious beasts we see they are accustomed. Nei-  
ther holdeth he any rule in his lust besides onely  
the motion and suggestion of his own sensuality;  
kindred, affinity or any other bond of consanguini-  
ty; religion, honour or honesty taketh no place  
in his outrageous appetite: what he best liketh,  
that he taketh as lawfull for the time. So that  
kin/woman, allie, friends wife or daughter,

Gentleman.

The intollerable  
licentiousnes of  
Leicesters carna-  
lity.

or whatsoever female sort besides doth please his eye: (I leave out of purpose, and for honour sake, tearmes of kinred more neere) that must yeeld to his desire.

Money well spent

Anne Vauisfour.

The punishments  
of God upon Leicester to do him  
good.

The keeping of the Mother with two or three of her daughters at once or successively, is no more with him, then the eating of an Hen & her chicken together. There are not (by report) two noble women about her Majesty (I speake upon some account of them that know much) whom he hath not solicited by potent wayes: neither contented with this place of honour, he hath descended to seeke pasture among the waiting Gentlewomen of her Majesties great chamber, offering more for their alluement, then I thinke *Lais* did commonly take in Corinth, if three hundred pounds for a night, will make up the sum; or if not, yet will he make it up otherwise: having reported himselfe (so little shame he hath) that he offered to another of higher place, an 100 pound lands by the yeere, with as many jewels as most women under her Majesty used in England; which was no mean bait to one that used traffick in such merchandize; she being but the leavings of another man before him, wherof my Lord is nothing squemish, for satisfying of his lust, but can be content (as they say) to gather up crums when he is hungry, even in the very Landry it selfe, or other place of baser quality.

And albeit the Lord of his great mercy, to doe him good, no doubt, if he were revokeable, hath laid his hand upon him, in some chastisement in this world, by giving him a broken belly on both sides of his bowels, whereby misery and putrification is threatned to him daily: and to his yong Sonne, by the widow of *Essex* (being *Filius peccati*) such a strange calamity of the falling

ing sicknesse in his infancy, \* as well may be a \*The children of  
 witnesse of the Parents sinne and wickednesse, adulterers shall  
 and of both their wasted natures in iniquity: yet be consumed, and  
 is this man nothing amended thereby, but according the seed of a wicked  
 to the custome of all old adulterers, is more bed shall be  
 libidinous at this day then ever before, more given rooted out, saith  
 to procure love in others by conjuring, force- God, Sap. 3.  
 ry, and other such meanes. And albeit for himselfe, both age, and nature spent, doe somewhat  
 tame him from the act, yet wanteth he not will, as appeareth by the Italian ointment, procured  
 not many yeers past by his Chyrurgion or Mount- Leicesters oyme-  
 banke of that Countrey, whereby (as they say) ment.  
 he is able to move his flesh at all times, for keeping of his credit, howsoever his inability be otherwise  
 for performance: as also one of his Physicians reported to an Earle of this Land, that  
 his Lordship had a bottle for his bed head, of Leicesters bottle  
 ten pounds the Pint to the same effect. But my  
 Masters whether are we fallen, unadvisedly? I  
 am ashamed to have made mention of so base fil-  
 thinesse.

Not without good cause (quoth I) but that we are here alone, and no man heareth us. Wherefore  
 I pray you let us returne whereas we left: and when you named my Lord of Leicesters Daughter  
 borne of the Lady Sheffield in Dudley Castle, there came into my head a pretie story concerning that  
 affaire: which now I will recount (though somewhat out of order) thereby to draw you from the  
 further stirring of this unsavory puddle and foule dunghill, whereunto we are slipped, by  
 following my Lord somewhat too far in his paths and actions. Scholar.

Wherefore to tell you the tale as it fell out: I  
 grew acquainted three months past with a certain  
 Minister, that now is dead, and was the same man  
 that



**A pretty device.**

that was used in *Dudley* Castle, for complement of some sacred ceremonies at the birth of my Lord of *Leicesters* daughter in that place : and the matter was so ordained, by the wily wit of him that had sowed the seed, that for the better covering of the harvest and secret delivery of the *Lady Sheffield*, the good wife of the Castle also (whereby *Leicesters* appointed gossip might without other suspicion have access to the place) should faine her selfe to be with childe, and after long and sore travell, God wor, to be delivered of a cushion (as she was indeed) and a little after a faire coffin was buried with a bundell of clours, in shew of a childe ; and the Minister caused to use all accustomed prayers and ceremonies for the solemne interring thereof : for which thing afterward, before his death, he had great griefe and remorse of conscience, with no small detestation of the most irreligious device of my Lord of *Leicester* in such a case.

**Lawyer.**

Here the Lawyer began to laugh a pace both at the device and at the Minister ; and said, now truly if my Lords contracts hold no better, but hath so many infirmities, with subtilties, and by-places besides : I would be loth that he were married to my daughter, as mean as she is.

**Gentleman.**

But yet (quoth the Gentleman) I had rather of the two be his wife, for the time, then his guest : especially if the Italian Chyrurgian or Physitian be at hand.

**Lawyer.**

True it is (said the Lawyer) for he doth not poison his wives, whereof I somewhat mervaile, especially his first wife ; I muse why he chose rather to make her away by open violence, then by some Italian confortive.

**Gentleman.**

Hereof (said the Gentleman) may be diverse reasons

reasons alleaged. First, that he was not at that time so skilfull in those Italian wares, nor had about him so fit Physitians and Chyrurgions for the purpose: nor yet in truth doe I thinke that his minde was so settled then in mischief, as it hath beene sithence. For you know, that men are not desperate the first day, but doe enter into wickednesse by degrees, and with some doubt or staggering of conscience at the beginning. And so he at that time might be desirous to have his wife made away, for that she letted him in his designements, but yet not so stony harted as to appoint out the particular manner of her death, but rather to leave that to the discretion of the murderer.

The first reason why Leicester slew his wife by violence, rather then by poyson.

Secondly, it is not also unlike that he prescribed unto Sir *Richard Varney* at his going thither, that he should first attempt to kill her by poyson, and if that tooke not place, then by any other way to dispatch her howsoever. This I prove by the report of old Doctor *Bayly*, who then lived in Oxford (another manner of man then he who now liveth about my Lord of the same name) and was Professour of the Physicke Lecture in the same University. This learned grave man reported for most certaine, that there was a practice in Cumner among the conspiratours, to have poysoned the poore Lady a little before she was killed, which was attempted in this order.

The second reason.

Doctor Bayly the elder.

They seeing the good Lady sad and heavy (as one that wel knew by her other handling that her death was not far off) began to perswade her, that her disease was abundance of melancholly and other humors, and therefore would needs counsaile her to take some potion, which she absolutely refusing to do, as suspecting still the worst; they sent one

one

A practice for  
poisoning the  
Lady Dudley.

day, (unwares to her) for Doctor Bayly, and desired him to perswade her to take some little potion at his hands, and they would send to fetch the same at Oxford upon his prescription, meaning to have added also somewhat of their own for her comfort, as the Doctor upon just cause suspected, seeing their great importunity, and the small need which the good Lady had of Physick, and therefore he flatly denied their request, minding (as he after reported) lest if they had poisoned her under the name of his Potion, he might after have beene hanged for a colour of their sinne. Marry the said Doctor remained well assured that this way taking no place, she should not long escape violence, as after ensued. And the thing was so beaten into the heads of the principall men of the University of Oxford by these and other meanes: as for that she was found murdered (as all men said) by the Crowners inquest, and for that she being hastily and obscurely buried at Cumner (which was condemned above, as not advisedly done) my good Lord to make plain to the world the great loue he bare to her in her life, and what a grieve the losse of so vertuous a Lady was to his tender heart, would needs have her taken up againe and reburied in the University Church at Oxford, with great pomp and solemnity: that Doctor Babington my Lords Chaplain, making the publike funerall Sermon at her second buriall, tript once or twice in his speed by recommending to their memories that vertuous Lady so pitifully murdered, instead of so pitifully flaine.

Doct. Babington

A third reason.

A third cause of this manner of the Ladies death, may be the disposition of my Lords nature; which is bold and violent where it feareth no resistance (as all cowardly natures are by kinde)

kinde) and where any difficulty or danger appeareth, there, more ready to attempt all by art, subtilty, treason and treachery. And so for that he doubted no great resistance in the poore Lady to withstand the hands of them which should offer to break her neck: he durst the bolder attempt the same openly.

But in the men whom he poisoned, for that they were such valiant Knights, the most part of them, as he durst as soon have eaten his scabard, as draw his sword in publike against them: he was inforced (as all wretched irefull and dastardly creatures are) to supplant them by fraud, and by other mens hands. As also at other times, he hath sought to doe unto divers other noble and valiant personages, when he was afraid to meet them in the field, as a Knight should have done.

His treacheries towards the noble late Earl of *Suffex* in their many breaches, is notorious to all England. As also the bloody practises against divers others.

But as among many, none were more odious and misliked of all men, then those against Monsieur *Simiers*, a stranger and Embassadour; whom first he practised to have poisoned (as hath bin touched before) and when that device tooke not place, then he appointed that *Robin Tider* his man (as after upon his Ale-bench he confessed) should have slaine him at the Blackfriars at Greenwich as he went forth at the garden gate; but missing also that purpose, for that he found the Gentleman better provided and guarded then he expected, he dealt with certaine Flusiners and other Pirates to sinke him at Sea, with the English Gentlemen his favourers, that accompanied him at his returne into France. And though they missed of this practice also, (as not daring to set upon him

The intended  
murder of Monsieur  
*Simiers* by  
sundry means.

him for feare of some of her Majesties ships, who to breake off this designment attended by speciall commandement, to waite him over in safety) yet the foresaid English Gentlemen were holden foure houres in chace at their coming backe, as Master *Rawley* well knoweth, being then present, and two of the chasers, named *Clark* and *Harris*, confessed afterward the whole designment.

The intended  
murder of the  
Earle of Ormond

The Earle of *Ormond* in likewise hath often declared, and will avouch it to my Lord of *Leicester* face, whensoever he shall be called to the same, that at such time as this man had a quarell with him, and thereby was likely to be enforced to the field (which he trembled to thinke of) he first sought by all meanes to get him made away by secret murder, offering five hundred pounds for the doing thereof. And secondly, when that device tooke no place, he appointed with him the field, but secretly suborning his servant *William Killigre* to lye in the way where *Ormond* should passe, and so to massacre him with a caliver, before he came to the place appointed. Which murder, though it tooke no effect, for that the matter was taken up, before the day of meeting: yet was *Killigre* placed afterward in her Majesties privy Chamber by *Leicester*, for shewing his ready minde to dee for his Master so faithfull a service.

William Killigre

Scholar.

So faithfull a service (quoth I) truly, in my opinion, it was but an unfit preferment, for so facinorouse a fact. And as I would be loth that many of his Italians, or other of that arr, should come nigh about her Majesties kitchen; so much lesse would I, that many such his bloody Champions, should be placed by him in her Highnesse chamber. Albeit for this Gentleman in particular, it may be, that with change of his place

place in service; he hath changed also his minde and affection, and received better instruction in the feare of the Lord.

But yet in general, I must needs say, that it cannot be but prejudiciall and exceeding dangerous unto our noble Prince and Realme, that any one man whatsoever (especially such a one as the world taketh this man to be) should grow to so absolute authority and commandry in the Court, as to place about the Princes person (the head, the heart, the life of the land), whatsoever people liketh him best, and that now upon their deserts towards the Prince, but towards himselfe; whose fidelity being more obliged to their advancer, then to their soveraigne, doe serve for watchmen about the same, for the profit of him, by whose appointment they were placed. Who by their meanes casting indeed but nets and chaines, and invisible bands about that person, whom most of all he pretendeth to serve, he shutteth up his Prince in a prison most sure, though sweet and senselesse.

Preoccupation  
of her Maiesties  
person.

Neither is this art of aspiring new or strange unto any man that is experienced in affaires of former time; for that it hath been from the beginning of all government a troden path of all aspirers. In the stories both sacred and prophane, foraine and domestlicall of all Nations, Kingdomes, Countries and States, you shall read, that such as ment to mount above others, and to governe all at their owne discretion; did lay this for the first ground and principle of their purpose; to possesse themselves of all such as were in place about the principall; even as he who intending to hold a great City at his owne disposition, dareth not mak open war against the same; getteth secretly into his hands or at his devotion, all the Towns,

An ordinary way  
of aspiring by  
preoccupation of  
the Princes person.

A comparison.

Villages, Castles, Fortresses, bulwarks, Rampires, Waters, Wayes, Ports and Passages, about the same, and so without drawing any sword against the said City, he bringeth the same into bondage to abide his will and pleasure.

This did all these in the Roman Empire, who rose from subjects to be great Princes, and to put downe Emperours. This did all those in France and other Kingdomes, who at sundry times have tyrannized their Princes. And in our owne Countrey the examples are manifest of *Vortiger*, *Harold*, *Henry* of Lancaster, *Richard* of Warwick, *Richard* of Glocester, *Iohn* of Northumberland, and divers others, who by this meane specially, have pulled downe their lawfull Sovereignes.

The way of aspiring in Duke Dudley.

And to speake onely a word or two of the last, for that he was this mans Father; doth not all England know, that he first overthrew the good Duke of *Somerset*, by drawing to his devotion the very servants and friends of the said Duke? And afterward did not he possesse himselfe of the Kings owne person, and brought him to the end which is knowne, and before that, to the most shamefull disheriting of his owne royall Sisters: and all this, by possessing first the principall men, that were in authority about him?

Wherefore sir, if my Lord of *Leicester* have the same plot in his head (as most men thinke) and that he meaneth one day to give the same push at the Crowne by the House of *Huntington*, against all the race and line of King *Henry* the seventh in generall, which his Father gave before him, by pretence of the House of *Suffolke*, against the Children of King *Henry* the eight in particular; he wanteth not reason to follow the same means



meanes and platform of planting speciall persons for his purpose about the Prince, for surely his fathers plot lacked no witty device or preparation, but onely that God overthrew it at the instant: (as happely he may doe this mans) also notwithstanding any diligence that humane wisdom can use to the contrary.

To this said the Gentleman: that my Lord of *Leycester* hath a purpose to shoot one day at the Diadem by the title of Huntington, is not a thing obscure in it selfe, and it shall bee more plainly proved hereafter. But now will I shew unto you for your instruction, how well this man hath followed his fathers platforme (or rather passed the same) in possessing himselfe of all her Majesties servants, friends, and forces, to serve *his turne* at that time for execution, and in the meane space for preparation.

First, in the privy Chamber, next unto her Majesties person, the most part are his own creatures (as he calleth them) that is, such as acknowledge their being in that place, from him: and the rest he so over-ruleth, either by flattery or feare, as none may dare but to serve his turne. As his reign is so absolute in this place, (as also in all other parts of the Court) as nothing can passe but by his admission, nothing can be said, done, or signified, whereof hee is not particularly advertised: no bill, no supplication, no complaint, no sute, no speech, can passe from any man to the Princess (except it be from one of the Councell) but by his good liking: or if there doe, he being admonished thereof (as presently he shall,) the party delinquent is sure after to abide the smart thereof. Whereby he holdeth as it were a locke upon the eares of his Prince, and the tongues of all her Majesties servants, so surely chained to his girdle,

*Leycesters power in the privy Chamber.*

as no man dareth to speak any one thing that may offend him, though it be never so true or behovefull for her Majesty to know.

Leycester married at Waenstead: when her Majesty was at M. Stoners House Doctor Culpeper Physition Minister.

As well appeared in the late marriage with Dame *Effex*, which albeit it was celebrated twice: first at Killingworth, and secondly at Waenstead (in the presence of the Earle of Warwick, Lord North, Sir *Francis Knoles*, and others) and this exactly known to the whole Court, with the very day, the place, the witnesses, and the Minister that married them together: yet no man durst open his mouth to make her Majesty privy therunto, untill Monsieur *Simiers* disclosed the same, (and thereby incurred his high displeasure) nor yet in many dayes after for feare of *Leycester*. Which is a subjection most dishonorable and dangerous to any Prince living, to stand at the devotion of his subject, what to heare or not to heare of things that passe within his own Realme.

No sute can passe but by Leycester.

Read Polidore in the 7. yeare of King Richard 1. and you shall find this proceeding of certaine about that K. to be put as a great cause of his overthrow.

And herof it followeth that no sute can prevaile in Court, be it never so meane, except he first be made acquainted there with, and receive not only the thanks, but also be admitted unto a great part of the gaine and commodity thereof. Which, as it is a great injury to the suter: so is it a far more greater to the bounty, honour and security of the Prince, by whose liberality this man feedeth only, and fortifieth himselfe, depriving his soveraigne of all grace, thanks and good will for the same. For which cause also he giveth out ordinarily, to every suter, that her Majesty is nigh and persimmonious of her selfe, and very difficile to grant any sute, were it not only upon his incessant solicitation. Whereby he filleth his own purse the more, and emptieth the hearts of such as receive benefit, from due thanks to their Princes for the sute obtained.

Hereof

Hereof also ensueth, that no man may be preferred in Court (be he otherwise never so well a deserving servant to her Majesty) except he be one of *Leycesters* faction or followers: none can be advanced, except he be liked and preferred by him: none receive grace, except he stand in his good favour, no one may live in countenance, or quiet of life, except he take it, use it, acknowledge it from him, so as all the favours, graces, dignities, riches and rewards, which her Majesty bestoweth, or the Realme can yeeld, must serve to purchase this man private friends, and favourers, onely to advance his party, and to fortifie his faction. Which faction if by these meanes it be great, (so as indeed it is:) you may not marvile, seeing the riches and wealth, of so worthy a Common weale, doe serve him but for a price to buy the same.

No preferments  
but by *Leycester*  
to *Leycesterians*.

Which thing himselfe well knowing, frameth his spirit of proceeding accordingly. And first, upon confidence thereof, is become so insolent and impotent of his life that no man may beare the same, how justly or unjustly soever it be conceived: for albeit he begin to hate a man upon bare surmises onely (as commonly it falleth out, ambition being alwayes the mother of suspicion) yet he persecuteth the same with such implacable cruelty, as there is no long abiding for the party in that place. As might bee shewed by the examples of many whom hee hath chased from the Court, upon his only displeasure, without other cause, being known to be otherwise, zealous Protestant. As *Sir Ierome Byes*, *Mr. George Scot*, and others that we could name.

*Leycesters* anger  
and insolency.

To this insolency is also joyued (as by nature it followeth) most absolute and preemprory dealing in all things whereof it pleaseeth him to dispose.

*Leycesters* preemprory dealing.

pose, without respect either of reason, order, due, right, subordination, custome, conveniency, or the like: whereof notwithstanding Princes themselves are wont to have regard in disposition of their matters: as for example, among the servants of the **Queenes Majesties** household, it is an ancient and most commendable order and custome, that when a place of higher roome falleth voyd, he that by succession is next, and hath made proof of his worthinesse in an inferiour place, should rise and possesse the same, (except it be for some extraordinary cause) to the end that no man unexperienced or untied, should be placed in the higher roomes the first day, to the prejudice of others, and disservice of the Prince.

Breaking of order in her Majesties household.

Which most reasonable custome this man contemning and breaking at his pleasure, thrusteth into higher roomes any person whatsoever, so he like his inclination, or feele his reward: albeit he neither be fit for the purpose, nor have beene so much as Clarke in any inferiour office before.

Leycesters violating of all order in the Country abroad.

The like hee useth out of the Court, in all other places where matters should passe by order, election, or degree: as in the Universities, in election of Scholars, and Heads of houses, in Ecclesiasticall persons, for dignities in Church, in Officers, Magistrates, Stewards of lands, Sheriffes and knights of Shires, in Burgesses of the Parliament, in Commissioners, Judges, Justices of the peace, (whereof many in every shire must weare his livery) and all other the like: where this mans will must stand for reason, and his letters for absolute lawes, neither is there any man, magistrate, or communer in the Realme, who dareth not sooner deny their petition of her **Majesties** letters, upon just causes (for that her highnesse is content after to be satisfied with reason) then to resist the commandement

mandement of this mans letters, who will admit no excuse or satisfaction, but onely the execution of his said commandement, be it right or wrong.

To this answered the Lawyer, Now verily, sir, *Lawyer.*  
 you paint unto me a strange patterne of a perfect Potentate in the Court: belike that stranger, who calleth our State in his printed booke *Leycestren sem Rempubliam*, a *Leycestrian Commonwealth*, or the Commonwealth of my Lord of Leycester, knoweth much of these matters. But to hold, *A Leycestrian Commonwealth*  
 still within the Court: I assure you that by considerations, which you have laid downe, I doe begin now to perceive that his party must needs be very great and strong within the said Court, seeing that hee hath so many wayes and meanes to encrease, enrich, and encourage the same, and so strong abilities to tread downe his enemies. The common speech of many wanteth not reason, I perceive, which calleth him the heart and life of the Court.

They which cal him the heart (said the Gentleman) upon a little occasion more, would call him also the head: and then I marvell what should bee left for her Majesty, when they take from her both life, heart, and headship in her own Realme? But the truth is, that he hath the Court at this day in almost the same case as his father had it in King *Edwards* dayes, by the same device, (the Lord forbid that ever it come fully to the same state, for then we know what ensued to the principall:) and if you will have an evident demonstration of this mans power and favour in that place, call you but to minde the times when her Majesty upon most just and urgent occasions, did withdraw but a little her wonted favour and countenance towards him: did not all

*Gentleman.*

Leycester called the heart and life of the Court.

A demonstration  
of Leycesters  
tyranny in the  
Court.

the Court as it were, mutiny presently? did not every man hang the lippe? except a few, who afterward paid sweetly for their mirth; were there not every day new devices sought out, that some should be on their knees to her Majesty, some should weepe and put finger in their eyes: other should find out certaine covert manner of threatening: other reasons and perswasions of love: other of profit: other of honour: other of necessity: and all to get him recalled back to favour againe? And had her Majesty any rest permitted unto her, untill she had yeelded and granted to the same?

Leycester provided  
never to  
come in the  
Queens danger  
again.

Consider then (I pray you) that if at that time, in his disgrace, he had his faction so fast assured to himself: what hath he now in his prosperity; after so many yeares of fortification? wherein by all reason he hath not been negligent, seeing that in policy the first point of good fortification is, to make that fort impregnable, which once hath been in danger to be lost. Whereof you have an example in *Richard Duke of York*, in the time of *K. Henry* the sixth, who being once in the Kings hands by his own submission, and dismissed againe (when for his deserts, he should have suffered) provided after, the King should never be able to over-reach him the second time, or have him in his power to do him hurt, but made himselfe strong enough to pull downe the other with extirpation of his family.

Anno Regni 31.

Leycesters puissance  
in the privy  
Councell.

And this of the Court, household and Chamber of her Majesty. But now if we shall passe from Court to Councell, we shall find him no lesse fortified but rather more: for albeit the providence of God hath bin such, that in this most honourable assemblie, there hath not wanted some two or three of the wisest, gravest, and most experienced

in our state, that have seen and marked this mans  
 perillous proceedings from the beginning, (wherof  
 notwithstanding two are now deceased, and their L. Keeper.  
 places supplied to *Leycesters* good liking : ) yet L. Chamberlain.  
 (alas) the wisdom of these worthy men, hath dis-  
 covered alwayes more, then their authorities were  
 able to redresse : (the others great power and vio-  
 lence considered) and for the residue of that bench  
 and table, though I doubt not but there be divers,  
 who do in heart detest his doings ( as there were  
 also, no doubt among the Councillours of King  
*Edward*, who misliketh this mans fathers attempts,  
 though not so hardy as to contrary the same : ) yet  
 for most part of the Councell present, they are  
 known to be so affected in particular, the one for  
 that he is to him a Brother, the other a Father, the  
 other a Kinsman, the other an allie, the other a fast  
 obliged friend, the other a fellow or follower in  
 faction, as none will stand in the breach against  
 him : none dare resist or encounter his designe-  
 ment : but every man yeelding rather to the force  
 of his flow, permitteeth him to pierce, and passe at  
 his pleasure in whatsoever his will is once settled  
 to obtaine.

And hereof (were I not staied for respect of some  
 whom I may not name) I could alledge strang ex-  
 amples, not so much in affaires belonging to sub-  
 jects and to privat men, as (were the cause of *Snow-*  
*den* forrest, *Denbigh* of *Killingworth*, of his faire Pa-  
 tures foully procured by *Southam*, of the Archbish.  
 of *Canterbury*, of the L. *Barkler*, of Sir *Iohn Throg-*  
*marton*, of M. *Robinson* and the like,) wherein those  
 of the Councell that disliked his doings, least da-  
 red to oppose themselves to the same, but also in  
 things that appertaine directly to the Crowne and  
 dignity, to the State and Common weal, and to the  
 safety and continuance therof. It is not secure for

Matters wherein  
 the Councell are  
 informed to wink  
 at *Leycester*.



any one Councillor, or other of authority, to take notice of my Lords errors or misdeeds, but with extreame perill of their owne ruine.

Leycesters intelligence with the rebellion in Ireland.

As for example : in the beginning of the rebellion in Ireland, when my Lord of Leycester was in some disgrace, and consequently, as hee imagined, but in fraile state at home, he thought it not unexpedient, for his better assurance, to hold some intelligence also that way, for all events, and so he did : whereof there was so good evidence and testimony found, upon one of the first of accompr, that was there slaine, (as honourable personages of their knowledge have assured me) as would have beene sufficient, to touch the life of any subject in the land, or in any state Christian, but onely my Lord of Leycester, who is a subject without subjection.

For what thinke you ? durst any man take notice hereof, or avouch that he had seen thus much ? durst he that tooke it in Ireland, deliver the same where especially hee should have done ? or they who received it in England, for it came to great hands, use it to the benefit of their Princessie and Countrey ? No surely : for if it had beene but onely suspected that they had seene such a thing, it would have beene as dangerous unto them as it was to *Alicon* to have seene *Diana* and her maidens naked : whose case is so common now in England as nothing more, and so doe the examples of divers well declare : whose unfortunate knowledge of too many secrets brought them quickly to unfortunate ends.

Alicons case now come in England.

Salvatur slaine in his bed.

For we heare of one *Salvatur* a stranger, long used in great mysteries of base affaires and dishonest actions, who afterward (upon what demerit I know not) sustained a hard fortune, for being late with my Lord in his study, well neare untill mid-

midnight, (if I be rightly informed) went home to his chamber, and the next morning was found flaine in his bed. Wee heare also of one *Doughby*, *Doughby hanged* hanged in haste by Captaine *Drake* upon the Sea, by *Drake*, and that by order, as is thought, before his departure out of England, for that he was over privy to the secrets of this good Earle.

There was also this last Summer past, one *Gates* hanged at Tiborne, among others, for robbing of Carriers, which *Gates* had beene lately Clarke of my Lords kitching, and had layd out much money of his owne, as he said, for my Lords provision, being also otherwise in so great favour and grace with my Lord, as no man living was thought to bee more privy of his secrets then this man, whereupon also it is to be thought, that hee presumed the rather to commit this robbery, (for to such things doth my Lords good favour most extend,) and being apprehended, and in danger for the same, he made his recourse to his Honour for protection, as the fashion is, and that hee might hee borne out, as divers of lesse merit had beene by his Lordship, in more haynous causes before him.

The story of  
*Gates* hanged  
at Tiborne.

The good Earle answered his servant and deare Privado courteously, and assured him for his life, howsoever for outer shew and complement the forme of Law might passe against him. But *Gates* seeing himselfe condemned, and nothing now betweene his head and the halter, but the word of the Magistrate which might come in an instant, when it would bee too late to send to his Lord: remembring also the small assurance of his said Lords word by his former dealings towards other men, whereof this man was too much privy, he thought good to sollicite his case also by some other of his friends, though not so puissant

puissant as his Lord and Master, who dealing indeed, both diligently and effectually in his affaire, found the matter more difficult a great deale then either he or they had imagined: for that my Lord of Leycester was not onely not his favourer, but a great hastener of his death under hand; and that with such care, diligence, vehemency, and irresistible meanes, (having the Law also on his side) that there was no hope at all of escaping: which thing when *Gates* heard of, he easily beleevved for the experience he had of his masters good nature, and said, that he alwayes mistrusted the same, considering how much his Lordship was in debt to him, and hee made privy to his Lordships foule secrets, which secrets hee would there presently have uttered in the face of all the world, but that he feared torments or speedy death, with some extraordinary cruelty, if hee should so have done, and therefore hee disclosed the same onely to a Gentleman of worship, whom hee trusted specially, whose name I may not utter for some causes, (but it beginneth with H.) and I am in hope ere it be long, by meanes of a friend of mine, to have a sight of that discourle and report of *Gates*, which hitherto I have not seene nor ever spake I with the Gentleman that keepeth it, though I be well assured that the whole matter passed in substance as I have here recounted it.

**Scholar.**

This relation of *Gates* may serve hereafter for an addition in the second edition of this booke.

Whereunto I answered, that in good faith it were pittie, that this relation should be lost, for that it is very like, that many rare things bee declared therein, seeing it is done by a man so privie to the affaires themselves, wherein also hee had beene used an instrument. I will have it (quoth the Gentleman) or else my friends shall faine me, howbeit not so soone as I would, for that he is in the West Countrey that should procure

sure it for me, and will not returne for certaine months, but after I shall see him againe, I will not leave him untill he procure it for me, as hee hath promised: well (quoth I) but what is become of that evidence found in Ireland under my Lords hand, which no man dare pursue, avouch, or behold.

Truly (said the Gentleman) I am informed *Gentleman.* that it lyeth safely reserved in good custody, to be brought forth and avouched whensoever it shall please God so to dispose of her Majesties heart, as to lend an indifferent eare, as well to his accusers, as to himselfe, in judgement.

Neither must you thinke that this is strange, nor that the things are few which are in such sort reserved in decke for the time to come, even among great personages, and of high calling, for seeing the present state of his power to bee such, and the tempest of his tyranny to be so strong and boysterous, as no man may stand in the rage thereof, without perill, for that even from her Majesty her selfe, in the lenity of her Princely nature, hee extorteth what hee desireth, either by fraud, flattery, false information, request, pretence, or violent importunity, to the over-bearing of all, whom hee meaneth to oppresse: No marvaile then though many even of the best and faithfullest Subjects of the Land, doe yeeld to the present time, and doe keepe silence in some matters, that otherwise they would take it for dutie to utter.

The deck reserved for Leycester.

Leycesters puissant violence with the Prince her selfe.

And in this kind it is not long sithence a worshipfull and wise friend of mine told mee a testimony in secret, from the mouth of as noble and grave a Councillour as England hath enjoyed these many hundred yeares: I meane the late

**The Earle of  
Suffex his speech  
of the Earle of  
Leycester.**

late Lord Chamberlaine, with whom my said friend being alone at his house in London, not twenty dayes before his death, conferred somewhat familiarly about these and like matters, as with a true father of his Countrey and Commonwealth: and after many complaints in the behalf of divers, who had opened their griefs unto Councillours, and saw that no notice would be taken thereof, the said Nobleman, turning himselfe somewhat about from the water, (for hee sate neare his pond side, where he beheld the taking of a Pike or Carpe) said to my friend, It is no marvell, sir, for who dareth intermeddle himselfe in my Lords affaires? I will tell you (quoth he) in confidence betweene you and me, there is as wise a man and as grave, and as faithfull a Councillour as England breedeth, (meaning thereby the Lord Treasurer) who hath as much of his keeping of Leycesters owne hand writing, as is sufficient to hang him, if either he durst present the same to her Majesty, or her Majesty doe justice when it should be presented. But indeed (quoth he) the time permitteth neither of them both, and therefore it is in vaine for any man to struggle with him.

**The Lord Burgh-  
ley.**

These were that Noblemans words, whereby you may consider whether my Lord of Leycester be strong this day in Councill or no: and whether his fortification be sufficient in that place.

**Leycesters po-  
wer in the coun-  
trety abroad.**

But now if out of the Councill, we will turne but our eye in the Countrey abroad, we shall finde as good fortification also there, as we have perused already in Court and Councill: and shall well perceive that this mans plot is no fond or indiscreet plot, but excellent well grounded, and such as in all proportions hath his due correspondence;

Confi.

Consider then the chiefe and principall parts of this land for martiall affaires, for use and commodity of armour, for strength, for opportunity, for liberty of the people, as dwelling farthest off from the presence and aspect of their Prince, such parts (I say) as are fittest for sudden enterprises, without danger of interception: as are the North, the West, the Countries of Wales, the Islands round about the land, and sundry other places within the same: are they not all at this day at his disposition? are they not all (by his procurement) in the onely hands of his friends and allies? or of such, as by other matches have the same complot and purpose with him?

In Yorke is president the man that of all other is fittest for that place, that is, his nearest in affinity, his dearest in friendship, the head of his faction, and open competitor of the Scepter. In Barwicke is a Captaine, his wives uncle, most assured to himselfe and Huntington, as one who at convenient time may as much advance their designements, as any one man in England.

In Wales the chiefe authority from the Prince is in his owne brother in law: but among the people, of naturall affection, is in the Earle of Pembroke, who both by marriage of his sisters daughter is made his ally, and by dependance is knowne to be wholly at his disposition.

The West part of England is under Bedford, a man wholly devoted to his and the Puritans faction.

In Ireland was governour of late the principal instrument appointed for their purposes: both in respect of his heat and affection toward their designements, as also of some secret discontentment which he hath towards her Majesty and the state present,

Yorke Earle of  
Huntington.

Barwick.  
The Lord Hun-  
don.

Wales.  
Sir Henry Sidney  
The Earle of  
Pembroke.

The West.  
Earle of Bed-  
ford.

The Lord Grey.

4 Her Maiesly  
(as he saith) for  
striking of Ma-  
ster Fortescue;  
calling him lame  
wretch: that  
grieved him so,  
(for that he was  
hurt in her ser-  
vice at Lieth) as  
he said, he would  
live to be reven-  
ged.

present for certaine hard & speeches and ingrate  
recompences, as he pretendeth: but indeed for  
that he is knowne to bee of nature fyrie, and im-  
patient of stay, from seeing that Commonwealth  
on foot, which the next competitours for their  
gaine have painted out to him and such others,  
more pleasant then the Terrestriall Paradise it  
selfe.

This then is the *Hector*, this is the *Ajax* appoin-  
ted for the enterprise, when the time shall come.  
This must be (forsooth) another *Richard* of War-  
wicke, to gaine the Crowne for *Henry* the ninth  
of the House of Yorke: as the other *Richard* did  
put downe *Henry* the sixt of the House of Lanca-  
ster, and placed *Edward* the fourth, from whom  
Huntington deriveth his title therefore this man  
is necessarily to be entertained from time to time  
(as we see now he is) in some charge and mar-  
tiall action, to the end his experience, power, and  
credit may grow the more, and he be able at the  
time to have souldiers at his commandment. And  
for the former charge which held of late in Ire-  
land, as this man had not beene called away, but  
for execution of some other secret purpose, \* for  
advancement of their designements: so bee well  
assured that for the time to come, it is to bee fur-  
nished againe with a sure and fast friend to Ley-  
cester and to that faction.

\* In Scotland, or  
elsewhere, against  
the next inheri-  
tors, or present  
possessor.

Sir Iohn Parott.

Sir Edward  
Horsley.

Sir George Ca-  
rew.

Sir Amias Paulet  
Sir Thomas  
Layton.

In the Ile of Wight I grant that Leycester hath  
lost a great friend and a trusty servant by the  
death of Captaine *Horsley*, but yet the matter is  
supplied by the succession of another, no lesse al-  
sured unto him then the former, or rather more,  
through the band of affinity by his wife. The two  
Ilands of *Gersey* and *Gernsey* are in the posses-  
sion of two friends and most obliged dependents.  
The one, by reason he is exceedingly addicted to  
the



the Puritan proceedings: the other, as now being joyned unto him by the marriage of mistress *Besse*, his wives sister, both daughters to Sir *Francis*, or (at least) to my Lady *Knoles*, and so become a rivall, companion and brother, who was before (though trusty) yet but his servant.

And these are the chiefe Keyes, Fortresses, and Bulwarkes, within, without and about the Realm, which my Lord of *Leycester* possesseing, (as hee doth) hee may be assured of the body within: where notwithstanding (as hath beene shewed) he wanteth no due preparation for strength: having at his disposition (besides all aydes and other helpes specified before) her Majesties horse, and stables, by interest of his owne office: her Armour, Artillery, and Munition, by the office of his brother the Earle of *Warwicke*. The Tower of London and treasure therein, by the dependence of Sir *Owen Hopton* his sworne servant, as ready to rescue and furnish him with the whole, if occasion served, as one of his predecessors was, to receive his Father in King *Edward*s dayes, for the like effect, against her Majesty and her Sister.

Her Majesties  
stable, her ar-  
mour, munition,  
and artillery  
The Tower.

And in the City of London it selfe, what this man at a pinch could doe, by the helpe of some of the principall men, and chiefe Leaders, and (as it were) Commanders of the Commons there, and by the bestirring of *Fleetwood* his madde Recorder, and other such his instruments: as also in all other Townes, Ports, and Cities of importance, by such of his owne setting up, as hee hath placed there to serve his designements, and Justices of peace, with other, that in most Shires doe weare his livery, and are at his appointments: the simplest man within the Realme doth consider.

London.  
Sir Rowland  
Heyward, &c.  
Mad Fleetwood  
Gentleman.

Where.

Whereunto if you adde now his owne forces and furniture which hee hath in Killingworth Castle, and other places, as also the forces of Huntington in particular, with their friends, followers, allies and comparteners, you shall finde that they are not behinde in their preparations.

*Scholar.*

My Lord of  
Huntingtons  
preparation at  
Ashby.

Killingworth  
Castle.

For my Lord of Huntingtons forwardnesse in the cause (saide I) there is no man, I thinke, which maketh doubt: marry for his private forces, albeir they may be very good, for any thing I doe know to the contrary, (especially at his house within five and twenty miles of Killingworth, where one told mee some yeares past, that he had furniture ready for five thousand men:) yet do I not think but they are farre inferiour to my Lord of Leycester, who is taken to have excessive store, and that in divers places. And as for the Castle last mentioned by you, there are men of good intelligence, and of no small judgement, who report that in the same he hath to furnish ten thousand good souldiers, of all things necessary both for horse and man, besides all other munition, armour, and artillery, (whereof great store was brought thither under pretence of triumph, when her Majesty was there, and never as yet carried backe againe) and besides the great abundance of ready coyne there (as is said) sufficient for any great exploit to bee done within the Realme.

Ralph Lane.

And I know that the estimation of this place was such, among divers, many yeares agoe: as when at a time her Majesty lay dangerously sick, and like to dye, at Hampton Court, a certaine Gentleman of the Court came unto my Lord of Huntington, and told him, that for so much as he tooke his Lord to be next in succession after her Majesty, hee would offer him a meane of great helpe for compassing of his purpose, after the discease

decease of her Majesty which was, the possession of Killingworth Castle (for at that time these two Earles were not yet very friends, nor confederate together) and that being had, he shewed to the Earle the great furniture and wealth which thereby he should possesse for pursuit of his purpose.

The offer and  
acceptation of  
Killingworth  
Castle.

The proposition was well liked, and the matter esteemed of great importance, and consequently received with many thanks. But yet afterward her Majesty by the good providence of God, recovering againe, letted the execution of the bargain: and my Lord of Huntington having occasion to joyne amity with Leycester, had more respect to his owne commodity, then to his friends security, (as commonly in such persons and cases it falleth out) and so discovered the whole device unto him, who forgot not after, from time to time, to plague the deviser by secret means, untill he had brought him to that poore estate, as all the world seeth: though many men be not acquainted with the true cause of this his disgrace and bad fortune.

To this answered the Lawyer: In good faith *Lawyer.* (Gentlemen) you open great mysteries unto me, which either I knew not, or considered not so particularly before; and no marvell, for that my profession and exercise of Law, restraineth me from much company keeping: and when I happen to be among some that could tell mee much herein, I dare not either aske, or heare if any of himselfe beginne to talke, lest afterward the speech coming to light, I be fetched over the coales (as the proverb is) for the same, under pretence of another thing. But you (who are not suspected for religion) have much greater priviledge in such matters, both to haare and speake againe, which men of mine estate dare not doe: Onely this I  
E knew

The prerogative  
of my Lord of  
Leycester.

knew before, that throughout all England my Lord of Leycester is taken for *Dominus fac totum*: whose excellency above others is infinite, whose authority is absolute, whose commandment is dreadful, whose dislike is dangerous, and whose favour is omnipotent.

And for his will, though it be seldome Law, yet alwayes is his power above law: and therefore wee Lawyers in all cases brought unto us, have as great regard to his inclination, as Astronomers have to the Planet dominant, or as Seamen have to the North Pole.

Leycester the  
Star directory to  
Lawyers in their  
clients affaires.

For as they that sail, doe direct their course according to the situation and direction of that starre which guideth them at the Pole: and as Astronomers who make Prognostications, doe foretell things to come, according to the aspect of the Planet dominant, or bearing rule for the time: so we doe guide our Clients barke, and do prognosticate what is like to ensue of his cause, by the aspect and inclination of my Lord of Leycester. And for that reason, as soone as ever wee heare a case proposed, our custome is to ask, what part my Lord of Leycester is like to favour in the matter, (for in all matters lightly of any importance he hath a part) or what may be gathered of his inclination therein: and according to that we give a guesse, more or lesse, what end will ensue. But this (my Masters) is from the purpose: and therefore returning to your former speech againe, I do say, that albeit I was not privy before to the particular provisions of my Lord and his friends, in such and such places: yet seeing him accompted Lord Generall over all the whole Realme, and to have at his commandement all these severall commodities and forces pertaining to her Majesty which you have mentioned before,

ore, and so many more as be in the Realme; and  
 not mentioned by you (for in fine he hath al:) I  
 could not but account him (as hee is) a potent  
 Prince of our State, for all furniture needfull to  
 defence or offence, or rather the onely Monarch  
 of our Nobility, who hath sufficient needfull to  
 iunge his Prince, if he should bee discontented,  
 specially for his abundance of money, (which,  
 by the wise, is tearmed the Sinewes of Martiall  
 Actions) wherein by all mens judgements, hee is  
 better furnished at this day, then ever any sub-  
 ject of our land, either hath beene heretofore, or  
 shal be hereafter, both for bankes with-  
 out the Realme, and stuffed coffers within. Inso-  
 much that being my selfe in the last Parliament,  
 when the matter was moved for the grant of a  
 subsidie, after that, one for her Majesty had gi-  
 ven very good reasons, why her Highnesse was in  
 want of money, and consequently needed the assi-  
 stance of her faithfull subjects therein, another  
 state next me, of good account, said in mine  
 secretly, these reasons I doe well allow, and  
 contented to give my part in money: but yet  
 for her Majesties need, I could make answer as  
 answered once the Emperour *Tiberius* in the  
 same case and cause, *Abundè ei pecuniam fore, si à li-*  
*bro suo in societatem recipietur*; that her Majesty  
 should have Money enough, if one of her servants  
 would vouchsafe to make her Highnesse partaker  
 of him; meaning thereby my Lord of Leyce-  
 ster, whose treasure must needs in one respect be  
 better then that of her Majesty; for that he lay-  
 out whatsoever he getteth, and his expences he  
 payeth upon the purse of his Princessse.

Leycesters furni-  
 ture in money.

The saying of a  
 Knight of the  
 Shire touching  
 Leycesters money

For that (said the Gentleman) whether he doe  
 it importeth little to the matter: seeing  
 that which hee spendeth, and that he hoord-

Gentlemen.

The infinit waies  
of gaining that  
Leycester hath.

Sutes.

Lands.

Licences.

Falling out with  
her Maicesty.  
Offices.

Clergy.

eth, is truly and properly his Princes Treasure  
and seeing hee hath so many and divers wayes of  
gaining, what should he make account of his owne  
private expences? if hee lay out one for a thousand,  
what can that make him the poorer? hee that hath  
so goodly lands, possessions, Seignories, and rich  
offices of his owne, as he is knowne to have: hee  
that hath so speciall favour and authority with the  
Prince, as he can obtaine whatsoever he listeth to  
demand: he that hath his part and portion in all  
sutes besides, that passe by grace or else (for the  
most part) are ended by Law: that may chop and  
change what lands hee listeth with her Majesty,  
dispoile them of al their woods and other commodities,  
and rack them afterwar to the uttermost penny,  
and then returne the same so tender-wretched, and  
bare-shorne, into her Majesties hands againe, by  
fresh exchange, rent, or other lands never  
enhanced before: he that possesseth so many  
gainfull Licences to himselfe alone, of Wine,  
Cyles, Currants, Cloves, Velvets, with his new  
office for Licence of alienation, most pernicious  
unto the Commonwealth as hee useth the same,  
with many other the like which were sufficient  
to enrich whole Townes, Corporations, Countries  
and Commonwealthes: he that hath the art, to  
make gainfull to himselfe every offence, displeasure,  
and falling out of her Majesty with him, and every  
angry countenance cast upon him: he that hath  
his share in all places of great profit, and holdeth  
an absolute monopoly of the same: he that disposeth  
at his will Ecclesiasticall livings of the Realme,  
maketh shops, not such as will doe reason, or  
Chaplains whom he listeth, and retaineth to  
himselfe so much of the living as liketh him best:  
that sweepeth away the glebe from so many

nefices throughout the Land, and compoundeth Benefices,  
 with the person for the rest. He that so scourerh  
 the University and Colledges where he is Chan- Vniversity.  
 cellour, and selleth both Headships and Scholars  
 places, and all other offices, roomes and digni-  
 ties, that by art or violence may yeeld money: he  
 that maketh title to what land or other thing he  
 please, and driveth the parties to compound for Oppressions.  
 the same: he that taketh in whole Forests,  
 Commons, Woods, and Pastures to himselfe,  
 compelling the Tenants to make him pay new  
 rent, and what he cesserh: he that vexeth and op-  
 presseth whomsoever hee list, taketh from any Rapines.  
 what hee list, and maketh his owne claime, suit,  
 and end as he list: he that selleth his favour with Princes favour.  
 the Prince, both abroad in forraine countries, and  
 at home, and setteth the price thereof what him-  
 selfe will demand: he that hath and doth all this,  
 and besides this, hath infinite presents daily Presents.  
 brought unto him of great value, both in Jewels,  
 Plate, all kinde of Furniture, and ready Coine:  
 this man (I say) may easily beare his owne ex-  
 pences, and yet lay up sufficiently also to weary  
 his Prince when need shall require.

You have laid much, sir, (quoth the Lawyer) Lawyer.  
 and such matter as toucheth nearly both her Ma-  
 jesty and the Commonwealth: and yet in my  
 conscience if I were to plead at the barre for my  
 Lord, I could not tell which of all these members  
 to deny. But for that which you mention in the  
 last part, of his gaining by her Majesties favour,  
 both at home and abroad: Touching his home- Leycesters home-  
 gaine, it is evident, seeing all that he hath is got- gaine by her Ma-  
 ten onely by the opinion of her Majesties favour jesties favour.  
 towards him, and many men doe repaire unto  
 him with fat presents, rather for that they suppose  
 he may by his favour do them hurt, if he feele not  
 their



their reward, then for that they hope he will  
brow any thing in their affaires.

A pretty story.

You remember (I doubt not) the story of him  
that offered his Prince a great yearly rent, to have  
but this favour onely, that hee might come every  
day in open audience, and say in his eare, God  
save your Majesty, assuring himselfe, that by the  
opinion of confidence and secret favour, which  
hereby the people would conceive to be in the  
Prince towards him, he should easily get up his  
rent againe double told. Wherefore my Lord  
Leycester receiving daily from her Majesty greater  
tokens of grace and favour then this, and  
himselfe being no evill Merchant, to make  
his owne bargain for the best of his commodities,  
cannot but gaine exceedingly at home  
by his favour.

Leycesters for-  
raine gaine by  
her Majesties  
favour.

And for his lucre abroad upon the same cause  
I leave to other men to conceive what it may be-  
sithence the beginning of her Majesties reigne  
the times whereof and condition of all Christen-  
dom hath bene such, as all the Princes and Po-  
tentates round about us, have bene constrained  
at one time or other, to sue to her Highnesse for  
aid, grace, or favour: in all which suites, men  
not to forget (as you know) the parties most  
by their credit, to further or let the same.

In particular onely this I can say, that I have  
heard of sundry Frenchmen, that at such time as  
the treaty was betweene France and England, for  
the re-delivery of Callis unto us againe, in the  
first yeare of her Majesties reigne that now is  
when the Frenchmen were in great distress  
misery and King *Philip* refused absolutely to make  
peace with them, except Callis were restored to  
England (whither for that purpose he had  
delivered the French hostages:) the Frenchmen

doe report (I say) that my Lord of *Leycester* *Leycesters* bribe  
 stood them in great stead at that necessity, for his *for betraying*  
 reward, (which you may well imagine was not *of Callis.*  
 small, for a thing of such importance) and became  
 a suiter, that peace might be concluded, with the  
 release of *Callis* to the French: which was  
 one of the most impious facts (to say the truth,)  
 that ever could be devised against his Common-  
 wealth.

A small matter in him (said the Gentleman) *Gentleman.*  
 for in this he did no more, but as *Christ* said of  
 the *J. wes:* that they filled up the measure of their  
 Fathers sinnes. And so if you reade the story of  
 King *Edwards* time, you shall finde it most evi-  
 dent, that this mans father before him, sold *Bul-* *Leycesters* sa-  
*loigne* to the French by like treachery. For it *ther sold Bul-*  
 was delivered up upon composition, without ne- *loigne.*  
 cessity or reason, the five and twentieth of April,  
 in the fourth year of King *Edward* the sixt, when  
 he (I meane Duke *Dudley*) had now put in the *Earles of Arun-*  
 Tower the Lord Protector, and thrust out of the *del and South-*  
 Councell whom he listed, as namely, the Earles *hampton put out*  
 of *Arundel* and *Southampton*, and so invaded the *of the Councell*  
 whole government himselfe, to sell, spoile, or dis- *by D. Dudley.*  
 pose at his pleasure. Wherefore this is but natu-  
 rall to my Lord of *Leycester* by descent, to  
 make merchandise of the State, for his Grand-  
 father *Edmund* also was such a kinde of Copef-  
 man.

An evill race of Merchants for the Common- *Lawyer.*  
 wealth (quoth the Lawyer) but yet, Sir, I pray  
 you (said he) expound unto me somewhat more  
 at large, the nature of these licences which you na-  
 med, as also the changing of lands with her Ma-  
 jesty, if you can set it downe any plainer: for they  
 seeme to be things of excessive gaine: especially  
 his way of gaining by offending her Majesty, or  
 by

Leycesters gaine  
by falling out  
with her Maiesty

by her Highnesse offence towards him, for it seemeth to be a device above all skill or reason.

Not so (quoth the Gentleman) for you know that every falling out must have an attonement againe, whereof hee being sure by the many and puissant meanes of his friends in Court, as I have shewed before, who shall not give her Majesty rest untill it be done: then for this attonement, and in perfect reconciliation on her Majesties part she must grant my Lord some sute or other, which he will have alwayes ready provided for that purpose, and this sute shall bee well able to reward his friends, that laboured for his reconcilment, and leave also a good remainder for himselfe. And this is now so ordinary a practice with him, as all the Realme observeth the same, and disdaineth that her Majesty should bee so unworthily abused. For if her Highnesse fall not out with him as often as he desireth to gaine this way, then he picketh some quarrell or other, to shew himselfe discontented with her, so that one way or other, this gainfull reconciliation must be made, and that often for his commodity. The like againe he exerciseth in inviting her Majesty to his banquets, and to his houses, where if shee come, she must grant him in sutes, tenne times so much as the charges of all amount unto: so that Robin playeth the Broker in all his affaires, and maketh the uttermost penny of her Majesty every way.

Gentleman.

Now for his change of lands, I thinke I have beene reasonable plaine before: yet for your fuller satisfaction, you shall understand his further dealing therein, to be in this sort. Besides the good lands, and of ancient possession to the Crowne, procured at her Majesties hand, and used as before was declared: hee useth the same tricke for his worst lands, that he possesseth

seeth any way, whether they come to him, by extort meanes and plaine oppression, or through maintenance and broken titles, or by couzenage of simple Gentlemen, to make him their heire, or by what hard title or dishonest meanes so ever, (for hee practizeth store of such and thinketh little of the reckoning :) after he had tried them likewise to the uttermost touch, and letten them out to such as shall gaine but little by the bargain: then goeth he and changeth the same with her Majesty for the best lands he can pick out of the Crowne, to the end that hereby he may both enforce her Majesty to the defence of his bad titles, and himselfe fill his coffers with the fines and uttermost commodity of both the lands.

Leycesters fraudulent change of lands with her Majesty whereby he hath notably endamaged the Crowne.

His licences do stand thus: first he got licence for certaine great numbers of cloaths, to be transported out of this land, which might have beene an undoing to the Marchant subject, if they had not redeemed the same with great summes of money: so that it redounded to great damage of all occupied about that kind of commodity. After that he had the grant for carrying over of barrell staves and of some other such like wares. Then procured hee a Monopolie, for bringing in of sweet wines, oyles, currants and the like: the gaine wherof is inestimable. He had also the forfeit of all wine that was to be drawn above the old ordinary price, with licence to give authority to sell above that price: wherein Captaine Horsey was his instrument, by which meanes it is incredible what treasure and yearly rent was gathered of the Vintners throughout the land.

Leycesters licences,

To this adde now his licence of silkes and velvets, which only were enough to enrich the Major and Aldermen of London, if they were all decayed

Silkes and Velvets.

The Tyrannical  
Licence of aliena-  
tion.

(as often I have heard divers Marchants affirme.) And his licence of alienation of lands, which (as in part I have opened before) serveth him not onely to excessive gaine, but also for an extreame scourge, wherewith to plague whom he pleaseth in the Realm. For seeing that without this licence, no man can buy, sell, passe, or alienate, any land that any waies may be drawn to that tenure, as holden in chiefe of the Prince: (as commonly now most land may) he calleth into question what soever liketh him best, be it never so cleare: and under this colour, not only enricheth himselfe without all measure, but revengeth himselfe also, where he will, without all order.

Gentlemen.

Edmund Dudley.

Here the Lawyer stood still a pretty while, biting his lip, as he were astonished, and then said; Verily I have not heard so many and so apparant things, or so odious, of any man that ever lived in our Common wealth. And I marvaile much of my Lord of *Leicester*, that his Grandfathers fortune doth not move him much, who lost his head in the beginning of King *Henry* the eighth dayes, for much lesse and fewer offences, in the same kind, committed in the time of King *Henry* the seventh: for he was thought to be the inventor of these poolings and molestations, wherewith the people were burthened, in the latter dayes of the said King. And yet had he great pretence of reason to alledged for himselfe: in that these exactions were made to the Kings use, and not to his, (albeit no doubt) but his own gaine was also there. Master *Stow* writeth in his Cronicle, that in the time of his imprisonment in the Tower, he wrot a notable book, intituled The tree of Common. wealth, which book the said *Stow* saith, that hee hath delivered to my Lord of *Leicester* many

Edmund Dudleys  
booke written in  
the Tower.

many years ago. And if the said book be so notable as Master *Stow* affirmeth: I marvile that his Lord in so many yeares, doth not publish the same, for the glory of his ancestors?

It may be (said the Gentleman) that the secrets therein contained, be such, as it seemeth good to my Lord, to use them onely himselfe, and to gather the fruit of the tree into his owne house alone. For if the tree of the Common-wealth in *Edmund Dudlis* book, be the Prince and his race: and the fruits to be gathered from that tree, bee riches, honours, dignities, and preferments: then no doubt, but as the writer *Edmund* was cunning therein: so have his two followers, *John* and *Robert*, well studied and practized the same, or rather have, exceeded and farre passed the authour himselfe. The one of them gathering so eagerly, and with such vehemency, as he was like to have broken down the maine boughes for greedinesse: the other yet plucking and heaping so fast to himselfe and his friends, as it is and may be, most justly doubted, that when they have cropped all they can, from the tree left them by their father *Edmund* (I meane the race of King *Henry* the seventh) then will they pluck up the Stemme it self by the rootes, as unprofitable: and pitch in his place another Trunke that is the line of *Huntington*) that may begin to feed a new, with fresh fruits againe, and so for a time content their appetites, untill of gatherers, they may become trees, (which is their finall purpose) to feed themselves at their own discretion.

The supplanting  
of the race of  
Henry the 7.  
The inserting of  
Huntington.

And howsoever this be, it cannot be denied, but that *Edm. Dudlis* brood, have learned by this book, and by other meanes to be more cunning gatherers, then ever their first progenitor was, that made the book. First for that he made profession to gather

*Edmund Dud-*  
*lies brood more*  
*cunning then*  
*himselfe.*

Northumberland  
and Leycester  
with their Prince  
will not be ruled.

ther to his Prince (though wickedly) and these men make demonstration, that they have gathered for themselves: and that with much more iniquity. Secondly, for that *Edmund Dudley* though hee got himselfe neare about the tree, yet was he content to stand on the ground, and to serve himselfe from the tree, as commodity was offered: but his children not esteeming that safe gathering, will needs mount aloft upon the tree, to pull, crophe, and ristle at their pleasure. And as in the second point the Sonne *John Dudley* was more subtile, then *Edmund* the Father: so in a third point, the Nephew *Robert Dudley* is more crafty then they both. For that, hee seeing the evill successe of those two that went before him, hee hath provided together so much in convenient time, and to make himselfe therewith so far and strong, (wherein the other two failed) as he will never be in danger more, to be called to any accompt for the same.

Lawyer.

In good faith Sir (quoth the Lawyer) I thanke you heartily, for this pleasant discourse upon *Edmund Dudleis* tree of Common-wealth. And by your opinion, my Lord of Leycester is the most learned of all his kindred, and a very cunning Logitioner indeed, that can draw for himselfe to commodious conclusions, out of the perillous premises of his progenitors.

Gentleman.

Leycester Master  
of Art, and a cunning  
Logitioner.

No marvail (quoth the Gentleman) for that his L. is Master of Art in Oxford, and Chancelour besides of the same Vniversity, where he hath store (as you know) of many fine wits and good Logitioners at his commandment: and where he learneth not only the rules and art of cunning gathering: but for the very practize (as I have touched before) seeing there is no one Colledge, or other thing



thing of commodity within that place, where hence he hath not pulled, whatsoever was possibly to be gathered, either by art or violence.

Touching Oxford (said I) for that I am an University man my selfe, and have both experience of Cambridge, and good acquaintance with divers students of the other university: I can tell you enough, but in fine all tendeth to this conclusion, that by his Chancellorship, is cancelled almost all hope of good in that University: and by his protection, it is very like soone to come to destruction. And surely if there were no other thing, to declare the oddes and difference betwixt him and our Chancellour, (whom he cannot beare, for that every way he seeth him, to passe him in all honour and vertue) it were sufficient to behold the present state of the two Universities, whereof they are heads and governours.

Scholar.

Leycesters abusing and spoiling of Oxford.

The Lord Treasurer.

For our own, I will not say much, lest I might perhaps seeme partiall: but let the thing speak for it selfe. Consider the fruit of the Garden, and thereby you may judge of the Gardiners diligence. Looke upon the Bishopricks, Pastorships, and Pulpits of England, and see whence principally they have received their furniture for advancement of the Gospell. And on the contrary side, looke upon the Seminaries of Papistry at Rome and Rhems, upon the Colledges of Jesuits, and other companies of Papists beyond the seas, and see where-hence they are, especially, fraught.

The Priests and Jesuits here executed within the land, and other that remaine either in prison, or abroad in corners: are they not all (in a manner) of that University? I speak not to the disgrace of any good that remaine there, or that have issued out thence into the Lords Vineyard: but for the

the most part there, of this our time, have they not either gone beyond the seas, or left their places for discontentment in Religion, or else become Servingmen, or followed the bare name of Law or Physick, without greatly profiting therein, or furthering the service of Gods Church, or their Commonwealth?

**The disorders of  
Oxford by the  
wickednesse of  
their Chancellor**

And wherehence (I pray you) ensueth all this, but by reason that the chiefe Governour thereof is an Atheist himselve, and useth the place onely for gaine and spoile? for herehence it commeth, that all good order and discipline is dissolved in that place, the fervour of study extinguished: the publike Lectures abandoned (I meane of the more part:) the Tavernes and Ordinary tables frequented: the apparell of Students growne monstrous: and the statutes and good ordinance both of the University and of every Colledge and Hall in private, broken and infringed at my Lords good pleasure, without respect either of oath, custome, or reason to the contrary. The heads and Officers are put in and out at his onely discretion: and the Scholars places either sold, or disposed by his letters, or by these of his servants and followers: nothing can be had there, now, without present money: it is as common buying and selling of places in that University, as of horses in Smithfield: whereby the good and vertuous are kept out, and companions thrust in, fit to serve his Lord afterward, in all affaires that shall occurre.

**Leases.**

And as for leases of Farmes, Woods, Pastures, Personages, Benefices. or the like, which belong any way to any part of the University, to let or bestow, these, his Lord and his Servants have so fleeced, shorne, and scraped already, that there remaineth little to feed upon hereafter: albeit hee

want

want not still his spies and intelligences in the  
place, to advertise him from time to time, when  
any new little morsell is offered. And the princi-  
pall instruments which for this purpose he hath  
had there before this, have been two Physitians,  
*Bay* and *Culpeper*, both knowne Papists a little  
while agoe, but now just of *Galen*s religion, and  
so much the fitter for my Lords humour: for his  
Lordship doth alwaies covet, to be furnished with  
certaine chosen men about him, for divers affairs:  
as these two *Galenists* in the University: *Des* and  
*A'en* (two Atheists) for figuring and conjuring:  
*Julia* the Italian, and *Lopus* the Jew, for po-  
soning, and for the art of destroying children in womens  
bellies: *Verneis* for murdering: *Digbies* for  
Bauds: and the like in occupations which his  
Lordship exerciseth.

*Leycesters in-  
struments.*

Wherefore to returne to the speech where we  
began: most cleare it is, that my Lord of *Leyce-*  
*ster* hath meanes to gaine and gather also by the  
University, as well as by the country abroad. Where  
in (as I am told) he beareth himselfe so absolute a  
Lord, as if he were their King, and not their Chan-  
cellour. Nay far more then if he were the gene-  
rall and particular founder of all the Colledges  
and other houses of the University; no man daring  
to contrary or interrupt the least word or signifi-  
cation of his will, but with his extreame danger:  
which is a proceeding more fit for *Phalaris* the ty-  
rant, or some Governour in Tartary, then for a  
Chancellour of a learned University.

\* At Digbies  
house in War-  
wickshire dame  
Lettice lay, and  
some other such  
pieces of plea-  
sure.

To this answered the Lawyer, for my Lords  
wrath towards such as will not stand to his judg-  
ment and opinion, I can my selfe be a sufficient  
witness, who having had often occasion to deale  
for composition of matters betwixt his Lordship  
and others, have seene by experience, that al-  
ways

*Lawyer.*

The perill of  
standing with  
Leycester in any  
thing.

wayes they have sped best, who stood least in contention with him, whatsoever their cause were. For as a great and violent river, the more it is stopped or contraried, the more it riseth and swelleth bigge, and in the end, dejecteth with more force the thing that made resistance: so his Lordship being the great and mighty Potentate of this Realme, and accustomed now to have his will in all things, cannot beare to bee crossed or resisted by any man, though it were in his owne necessary defence.

Hereof I have scene examples in the causes of Snowden for it in Wales, of Denbighe, of Kilingworth, of Drayton, and others: where the parties that had interest, or thought themselves wronged, had bene happy if they had yeelded at the first to his Lordships pleasure, without further question: for then had they escaped much trouble, charges, displeasure, and vexation, when by resistance they incurred, to their great ruine, (and \* losse of life to some) and in the end were faine to submit themselves unto his will, with far worse conditions then in the beginning were offered unto them: which thing was pittifull indeed to behold, but yet such is my Lords disposition.

\* Poore men resisting Warwicks inclosure at North hall were hanged for his pleasure by Leycesters authority  
*Gentleman.*  
Great Tyranny.

A noble disposition (quoth the Gentleman, that I must give him my coat, if hee demand the same, and that quickly also, for feare lest if I stagger or make doubt thereof, hee compell me to yeeld both coat and doublet, in penance of my stay. I have read of some such Tyrants abroad in the world: marry their end was alwayes according to their life, as it is very like that it will be also in this man, for that there is small hope of his amendment, and God passeth not over commonly such matters unpunished in this life, as well as in the life to come.

But I pray you fir, seeing mention is now made of the former opprellions, so much talked of throughout the realm, that you will take the pains to explain the substance thereof unto me; for albeit in generall, every man doth know the same, and in heart doe detest the tyranny thereof; yet we abroad in the Countrey, doe not understand it so well and distinctly as you that be Lawyers, who have seene and understood the whole proccesse of the same.

The case of Killingworth and Denbigh (said the Lawyer) are much alike in matter and manner of proceeding, though different in time, place and importance. For that the Lordship in Denbigh in North Wales, being given unto him by her Majesty a great while agoe, at the beginning of his rising, (which is a Lordship of singular great importance in that Countrey, having (as I have heard) well neere 200. worshipfull Gentlemen freetholders to the same;) the tenants of the place, considering the present state of things, and having learned the hungry disposition of their new Lord, made a common purse of a thousand pounds, to present him withall, at his first entrance; which though he received (as he refuseth nothing;) yet accounted he the sum of small effect for satisfaction of his appetite; and therefore applied himselfe, not onely to make the uttermost that he could by leases, and such like wayes of commoditie; but also he would needs enforce the Freetholders to raise their old rent of the Lordship, from two hundred and fifty pounds a yete, or thereabouts (at which rate he had received the same in gift from her Majesty,) unto eight or nine hundred pounds by the yeere. For that he had found out (forsooth) an old record, (as he said) whereby he could prove, that in ancient time

Lawyer.

The Lordship of Denbigh and Leicesters oppression used therein.

long past, that Lordship had yeelded so much old rent: and therefore he would now enforce the present tenants, to make up so much againe upon their lands, which they thought was against all reason for them to doe: but my Lord perforce, would have it so, and in the end compelled them to yeeld to his will, to the impoverishing of all the whole Countrey about.

The Manor of Killingworth, and Leycesters oppression there.

The like proceeding he used with the tenants about Killingworth, where he received the said Lordship and Castle from the Prince, in gift of twenty foure pounds yeerely rent or thereabout, hath made it now better then five hundred by yeere: by an old record also, found by great fortune in the hole of a wall, as is given out (for he hath singular good luck alwayes in finding out records for his purpose) by vertue whereof, he hath taken from the tenants round about, their Lands, Woods, Pastures and Commons, to make himselfe Parkes, Chaces, and other commodities therewith, to the subversion of many a good family, which was maintained there, before this devourer set foot in that Countrey.

The cause of Snowden forest most pitifull.

But the matter of Snowden Forest, doth passe all the rest, both for cunning and cruelty: the tragedy whereof was this, he had learned by his intelligencers abroad (whereof he had great store in every part of the Realme) that there was a goodly ancient Forest in North wales, which hath almost infinite borderers about the same: for it lyeth in the middest of the Countrey, beginning at the hils of Snowden (whereof it hath his name) in Carnarvanshire, and reacheth every way towards divers other shires. When my Lord heard of this, he entered presently into the conceit of a singular great prey: going to her Majesty, signified that her highnesse was often times

abused

abused, by the incroaching of such as dwelt upon  
her Forests, which was necessary to be restrained;  
and therefore beseeched her Majesty to bestow  
upon him the incroachments only, which he should  
be able to finde out upon the Forest of Snowden,  
which was granted.

And thereupon he chose out Commissioners fit  
for the purpose, and sent them into Wales, with  
the like Commission as a certaine Emperour was  
wont to give his Majestrates, when they departed  
from him to governe, as *Suetonius* writeth, *Scilicet* An old tyranni-  
*quid velim & quibus opus habeo.* You know what I call Commission  
would have, and what I have need of. Which re-  
commendation, these Commissioners taking to  
heart, omitted no diligence in execution of the  
same; and so going into Wales, by such meanes as  
they used, of setting one man to accuse another;  
brought quickly all the Countrey round about in  
three or foure shires, within the compasse of Fo-  
rest ground; and so entred upon the same, for my  
Lord of *Leicesters*. Whereupon, when the people  
were amazed, and expected what order my Lord  
himselſe would take therein: his Lord was so far  
off from refusing any part of that, which his Com-  
missioners had presented and offered him: as he  
would yet further stretch the Forest beyond the  
Sea, into the Isle of Anglesey, and make that also  
within his compasse and bounder.

A ridiculous de-  
monstration of  
excessive avarice

Which when the Commonalty saw, and that  
they profited nothing by their complaining and  
crying out of this tyranny: they appointed to  
send some certaine number of themselves, to  
London, to make supplication to the Prince:  
and so they did; choosing out for that purpose a  
dozen Gentlemen, and many more of the Com-  
mons of the Countrey of *Llin*, to deale for the  
whole. Who coming to London, and exhibiting



a most humble Supplication to her Majesty for redresse of their oppression: received an answer, by the procurement of my Lord of *Leycester*, that they should have justice, if the commonly would returne home to their houses, and the Gentlemen remaine there, to sollicite the cause. Which as soone as they had yeelded unto, the Gentlemen were all taken and cast into prison, and there kept for a great space, and afterward were sent downe to Ludlow, (as the place most eminent of all these Countries) there to wear papers of perjury, and receive other punishments of infamy, for their complaining: which punishments notwithstanding, afterward upon great suit of the parties and their friends, were turned into great fines of money, which they were constrained to pay, and yet besides to agree also with my Lord of *Leycester* for their owne lands, acknowledging the same to be his, and so to buye of him againe.

A singular oppression.

Wherby not onely these private Gentlemen, but all the whole Countrey thereabout, was and is (in a manner) utterly undone. And the participation of this injury, reacheth so far and wide, and is so generall in these parts, as you shall scarce finde a man that cometh from that coast, who feeleth not the smart thereof; being either impoverished, beggered or ruinated thereby.

*Leycester* extremely hated in Wales.

Wherby I assure you that the hatred of all that Countrey, is so universall and vehement against my Lord; as I think never thing created by God, was so odious to that Nation, as the very name of my Lord of *Leycester* is. Which his Lordship well knowing, I doubt not, but that he will take heed how he go thither to dwell, or send thither his posterity.

Gentleman.

For his posterity (quoth the Gentleman) I sup-

pose he hath little cause to be solicitour; for that God himselfe taketh care commonly, that goods and honours so gotten and maintained, as his be, shall never trouble the third heire. Marry for himselfe, I confesse (the matter standing as you say) that he hath reason to forbear that Country, and to leave off his building begun at Denbigh, as I heare say he hath done: for that the universall hatred of a people, is a perilous matter; and if I were in his Lordships case, I should often thinke of the end of *Nero*; who after all his glory, upon fury of the people was adjudged to have his head thrust into a Pilory, and so to be beate[n] to death with rods and throngs.

The end of tyrants.

*Nero.*

Or rather I should feare the successe of *Vitellius* the third Emperor after *Nero*, who for his wickednesse and oppression of the people, was taken by them at length, when fortune began to faile him, and led out of his Palace naked, with hooks of Iron fastned in his flesh, and so drawn through the City with infamy, where, loden in the streets with filth and ordure cast upon him, and a prick put under his chin, to the end he should not looke downe or hide his face, was brought to the banke of Tyber, and there, after many hundred wounds received, was cast into the river. So implacable a thing is the furour of a multitude, when it is once stirred, and hath place of revenge. And so heavy is the hand of God upon tyrants in this world, when it pleaseth his divine Majesty to take revenge of the same.

*Vitellius.*

I have read in *Leander*, in his description of Italy, how that in Spoleto (if I be not deceived) the chiefe City of the Country of Umbria, there was a strange tyrant; who in the time of his prosperity, contemned all men, and forbore to injury no man that came within his claws; esteeming himselfe sure

A most terrible revenge taken upon a tyrant.

enough for ever being called to render account in this life, and for the next he cared little. But God upon the sudden turned upside-downe the wheele of his felicity, and cast him into the peoples hands who tooke him, and bound his naked body upon a planke, in the Market place, with a fire and iron-tongues by him: and then made proclamation, that seeing this man was not otherwise able to make satisfaction, for the publique injuries that he had done; every private person annoyed by him, should come in order, and with the hot burning tongues there ready, should take of his flesh so much, as was correspondent to the injury received, as indeed they did untill the miserable man gave up the ghost, and after too: as this author writeth.

Leycesters oppression of particular men.

But to the purpose: seeing my Lord eareth little for such examples, and is become so hard now, as he maketh no account to injury and oppress whole Countries and Commonalties together; it shall be bootlesse to speake of his proceedings towards particular men, who have no so great strength to resist, as a multitude hath. And yet I can assure you, that there are so many and so pitifull things published daily of his ranny in this kinde; as doe move great compassion towards the party that doe suffer, and honour against him who shameth not daily to offer such injury.

Master Robinson

*Robinson* of Staffordshire; a proper yong Gentleman, and well given both in religion and other vertues; whose Father died at Newhaven, in her Majesties service, under this mans brother the Earle of Warwick; and recommended at his death this his eldest Son, to the special protection of

cester and his Brother, whose servant also this *Robinson* hath bin, from his youth upward, and spent the most of his living in his service. Yet notwithstanding all this, when *Robinsons* Lands were intangled with a certaine Londoner, upon interest for his former maintenance in their service, whose title my Lord of *Leicester* (though craftily, yet not covertly) under *Ferris* his cloak, had gotten to himselfe: he ceased not to pursue the poore Gentleman even to imprisonment, arraignment, and sentence of death, for greedinesse of the said living; together with the vexation of his brother in law *Master Harcourt*, and all other his friends. upon pretence, forsooth, that there was a man slaine by *Robinsons* party, in defence of his owne possession against *Leicesters* intruders, that would by violence breake into the same.

*Master Harcourt.*

What shall I speake of others, whereof there would be no end? as of his dealing with *Master Richard Lee*, for his Manor of Hooknorton (if I faile not in the name:) with *Master Ludowick Grivel*, by seeking to bereave him of all his living at once, if the drift had taken place? with *George Witney*, in the behalfe of *Sir Henry Leigh*, for informing him to forgoe the Controulership at Woodstock, which he holdeth by Patent from King *Henry* the seventh? with my Lord *Barkley*, whom he enforced to yeeld up his lands to his brother *Warwick*, which his ancestors had held quietly for almost two hundred yeres together?

*M. Richard Lee.*

*Ludowick Grivel*

*George Witney.*

*Lord Barkley.*

What shall I say of his intollerable tyranny upon the last Archbishop of Canterbury, for *Dector Iulio* his sake, and that in so foule a matter? Vpon *Sir Iohn Throgmarton*, whom he brought pitifully to his grave before his time, by continual vexations, for a peece of faithfull service done by him to his Countrey, and to all the line

*Archbishop of Canterbury.*

*Sir Iohn Throgmarton.*

Lanc.

Gifford.

Sir Drew Drewry

The present state  
of my Lord of  
Leycester.

Leicesters wealth

Leycest. strength

Leycest. cunning

of King Henry, against this mans Father, in King Edward and Queen Maries dayes? Upon divers of the *Lanc.* for one mans sake of that name before mentioned, that offered to take Killingworth Castle? upon some of the *Giffords*, and other for *Tbrogmarions* sake? (for that is also his Lords disposition, for one mans cause whom he brooketh not, to plague a whole generation, that any way pertaineth, or is allied to the same:) his endlesse persecuting of Sir *Drew Drewry*, and many other Courtiers, both men and women? All these (I say) and many others, who daily suffer injuries, rapines and oppressions at his hands, throughout the Realme, what should it avails to name them in this place? seeing neither his Lord careth any thing for the same, neither the parties agrieved are like to attain any least release of affliction thereby, but rather double oppression for their complaining.

Wherefore to return again wheras we began; you see by this little, who, and how great, & what manner of man, my Lord of *Leycester* is this day, in the state of England. You see, and may gather, in some part, by that which hath bin spoken, his wealth, his strength, his cunning, his disposition. His wealth is excessive in all kinde of riches for a private man, and must needs be much more, then any body lightly can imagine, for the infinite wayes he hath had of gaine, so many yeeres together. His strength and power is absolute and irresistible, as hath beene shewed both in Chamber, Court, Councell and Country. His cunning in plotting and fortifying the same, both by force and fraud, by Mines and countermines, by trenches, bulwarkes, flankers and rampiers: by friends, enemies, allies, servants, creatures, and dependents, or any other that may serve his turne; is very rare and

and singular. His disposition to cruelty, murder, treason and tyranny : and by all these to supream Sovereignty over other, is most evident and cleare. And then judge you whether her Majesty that now raigneth (whose life and prosperity, the Lord in mercy long preserve,) have not just cause to feare, in respect of these things onely ; if there were no other particulars to prove his aspiring intent besides ?

*Leycesters disposition.*

No doubt (quoth the Lawyer) but these are great matters, in the question of such a cause as is a Crown And we have seen by example, that the least of these four, which you have here named, or rather some little branch contained in any of them, hath bin sufficient to found just suspicion, distrust or jealousie, in the heads of most wise Princes, towards the proceedings of more assured subjects, then my Lord of *Leycester*, in reason may be presumed to be. For that the safety of a state and Prince, standeth not onely in the readinesse and habilitie of resisting open attempts, when they shall fall out ; but also (and that much more as Statists write) in a certaine provident watchfulness, of preventing all possibilities and likelihoods of danger of suppression, for that no Prince commonly, will put himselfe to the curtisie of another man) be he never so obliged) whether he shall retaine his Crowne or no : seeing the cause of a Kingdome, acknowledgeth neither kindred, duty, faith, friendship, nor society.

*Lawyer.*

*Causes of iust feare for her Maiesly.*

I know not whether I doe expound or declare my self well or no ; but my meaning is, that whereas every Prince hath two points of assurance from his subject ; the one, in that he is faithfull, and lacketh will to annoy his Sovereigne ; the other, for

for

A point of necessary policy for a Prince.

for that he is weake and wanteth ability to do the same: the first is alwayes of more importance then the second, and consequently more to be eyed and observed in policy: for that our will may be changed at our pleasure, but not our ability.

Considering then upon that which hath beene said and specified before, how that my Lord of *Leicester* hath possessed himself of all the strength, powers and sinewes of the Realme, hath drawne all to his own direction, and hath made his party so strong, as it seemeth not resistable: you have great reason to say, that her Majesty may justly conceive some doubt, for that if his will were according to his power, most assured it is, that her Majesty were not in safety.

Scholar.

Say not so, good sir, (quoth I) for in such a case truly, I would repose little upon his will, which is so many wayes apparant, to be most insatiable of ambition. Rather would I thinke that as yet his ability serveth not, either for time, place, force, or some other circumstance: then that any part of good will should want in him; seeing that not onely his desire of soveraignty, but also his intent and attempt to aspire to the same, is sufficiently declared (in my conceit) by the very particulars of his power and plots already set downe. Which if you please to have the patience, to heare a Scholars argument, I will prove by a principle of our Philosophy.

A philosophical argument to prove *Leycesters* intent of soveraignty.

For if it be true which *Aristotle* saith, there is no agent so simple in the world, which worketh not for some finall end, (as the bird buildeth not her nest but to dwell and hatch her yong ones therein:) and not onely this, but also that the same agent, doth alwayes frame his worke according to the proporeion of his intended end (as when the Fox or Badger maketh a wide entrance



orden, it is a signe that he meaneth to draw this  
 other great store of prey: ) then must we also in  
 reason thinke, that so wise and politick an agent,  
 as is my Lord of *Leicester* for himselfe, wanteth  
 not his end in these plottings and preparations of  
 his; I meane an end proportionable in great-  
 nesse to his preparations. Which end can be no  
 lesse nor meaner then supream Soveraignty,  
 seeing his provision and furniture doe tend that  
 way, and are in every point fully correspondent  
 to the same.

What meaneth his so diligent besieging of the  
 Princes person? his taking up the wayes and pas-  
 sages about her? his insolency in Court? his sin-  
 gularity in the Councell? his violent preparation  
 of strength abroad? his enriching of his compli-  
 ces? the banding of his faction, with the abun-  
 dance of friends every where? what doe these  
 things signifie (I say) and so many other, as you  
 have well noted and mentioned before; but one-  
 ly his intent and purpose of Supremacy? What did  
 the same things portend in times past in his Fa-  
 ther, but even that which now they portend in the  
 Sonne? Or how should we thinke, that the Son  
 hath another meaning in the very same actions,  
 then had his Father before him, whose steps he  
 followeth.

The preparations  
 of *Leicester* de-  
 clare his inten-  
 ded end.

I remember I have heard oftentimes of divers  
 ancient and grave men in Cambridge, how that in  
 King *Edward*s dayes the Duke of Northumberland  
 this mans Father, was generally suspected of all  
 men, to mean indeed as afterward he shewed, es-  
 pecially when he had once joyned with the house  
 of *Suffolk*, and made himselfe a principall of that  
 faction by marriage. But yet for that he was po-  
 tent, and protested every where, and by all occasi-  
 ons his great love, duty, and spooiall care, above all  
 others,

How the Duke  
 of Northumber-  
 land dissembled  
 his end.

others, that he bare towards his Prince & Country; no man durst accuse him openly, untill it was too late to withstand his power, (as commonly it falleth out in such affaires) and the like is evident in my Lord of *Leycesters* actions now (albeit to her Majesty, I doubt not, but that he will pretend and protest, as his Father did to her Brother) especially now after his open association with the faction of *Huntington*; which no lesse impugneth under this mans protection, the whole line of *Henry* the seventh for right of the Crowne, then the house of *Suffolke* did under his Father the particular progeny of King *Henry* the eight.

**Gentleman.**

The boldnesse of  
the titlers of  
*Clarence*.

Nay rather much more (quoth the Gentleman) for that I doe not read in King *Edwards* raigne, (when the matter was in plotting notwithstanding) that the house of *Suffolke* durst ever make open claime to the next succession. But now the house of *Hastings* is become so confident, upon the strength & favor of their fautors, as they dare both plot, practice & pretend, all at once, and fear not to set out their title, in every place where they come.

**Lawyer.**

And do they not fear the statute (said the Lawyer) so rigorous in this point, as it maketh the matter treason to determine of titles?

**Gentleman.**

The abuse of the  
Statute for silence  
in the true suc-  
cession.

No: they need not (quoth the Gentleman) seeing their party is so strong and terrible, as no man dare accuse them: seeing also they well know, that the procurement of that Statute, was onely to endanger or stop the mouths of the true Successors, whiles themselves in the meane space went about under hand, to establish their owne ambushment.

**Lawyer.**

Well: (quoth the Lawyer) for the pretence of my Lord of *Huntington* to the Crowne, I will not stand with you, for that it is a matter sufficiently known and seen throughout the Realme. As also  
that

that my Lord of *Leyceſter* is at this day a principall  
favourer and patron of that cauſe, albeit ſome  
yeers paſt; he were an earneſt adverſary and ene-  
my to the ſame. But yet I have heard ſome friends  
of his, in reaſoning of theſe matters, deny ſtoutly  
a point or two, which you have touched here, and  
doe ſeeme to beleewe the ſame.

And that is, firſt, that howſoever my Lord of *Leyceſter* do meane to helpe his friend, when time ſhall ſerve, yet pretendeth he nothing to the Crowne himſelfe. The ſecond is, that whatſoever may be meant for the title, or compaſſing the Crowne after her Maſtieſties death, yet nothing is intended during her raigne. And of both theſe points they alledge reaſons.

As for the firſt, that my Lord of *Leyceſter* is very well knowne to have no title to the Crowne himſelfe, either by diſcent in blood, alliance or otherwayes. For the ſecond, that his Lord hath no cauſe to be a Malecontent in the preſent government, nor hope for more preferment, if my Lord of *Huntington* were King to morrow next, then he receiveth now at her Maſtieſties hands; having all the Realme (as hath bin ſhewed) at his owne diſpoſition.

For the firſt (quoth the Gentleman) whether he meane the Crowne for himſelfe, or for his friend; it importeth not much; ſeeing both wayes it is evident, that he meaneth to have all at his owne diſpoſition. And albeit now for the avoyding of envy, he give it out, as a crafty Fox, that he meaneth not but to run with other men, and to hunt with *Huntington* and other hounds in the ſame chace; yet is it not unlike, but that he wil play the Beare, when he cometh to dividing of the pray, and will ſnatch the beſt part to himſelfe. Yea, and theſe ſelf ſame per-  
ſons

Two excuſes al-  
leadged by *Leyceſters* friends.

Gentleman.

Whether *Leyceſter* meane the Crowne ſincerely for *Huntington* or for himſelfe.

sons of his traine and faction, whom you call his friend, though in publique, to excuse his doings, and to cover the whole plot, they will and must deny the matters to be so meant: yet otherwise they both thinke, hope and know the contrary, and will not stick in secret to speak it, and among themselves, it is their talke of consolation.

The words of the  
Lord North, to  
Master Pooly.

The words of his speciall Councellour the Lord North, are known, which he uttered to his trusty Pooly, upon the receipt of a letter from Court, of her Majesties displeasure towards him, for his being a witness at *Leycesters* second marriage with Dame *Letrice* (although I know he was not ignorant of the first) at Wanstead: of which displeasure, this Lord making far lesse account then, in reason he should, of the just offence of his soveraigne, said: that for his owne part he was resolved to sinke or swimme with my Lord of *Leycester*, who (said he) if once the Cards may come to shuffling (I will use but his very own words) I make no doubt but he alone shall beate away the Bucklers,

Pooly told this  
to Sir Robert  
Jermine.

The words of Sir  
Thomas Layton  
brother in law to  
my Lord.

The words also of Sir Thomas Layton, to Sir Henry Neville, walking upon the Tarrasse at Windsor are known, who told him, after long discourse of their happy conceived Kingdome, that hee doubted not, but to see him one day, hold the same office in Windsor, of my Lord of *Leycester*, which now my Lord did hold of the Queene. Meaning thereby the goodly office of Constableness, with all Royalties and honours belonging to the same, which now the said Sir Henry exerciseth onely as Deputy to the Earle. Which was plainely to signifie, that, he doubted not but to see my Lord of *Leycester* one day King, or els his other hope could never possibly take effect or come to passe.

To the same point tended the words of Mistress *Anne West*, Dame *Lettice* sister, unto the Lady *Anne Askew*, in the great Chamber, upon a day when her brother *Robert Knowles* had danced disgratioussly and scornfully before the Queen in presence of the French. Which thing for that her Majesty tooke to proceed of will in him, as for dislike of the strangers in presence, and for the quarrell of his sister *Essex*; it pleased her Majesty to check him for the same, with addition of a reproachfull word or two (full well deserved) as though done for despite of the forced absence from that place of honour, of the good old Gentlewoman (I mitigate the words) his sister. Which words, the other young twig receiving in deepe dudge, brake forth in great choler to her forenamed companion, and said, That she nothing doubted, but that one day shee should see her sister, upon whom the Queene railed now so much (for so it pleased her to rearme her Majesties sharpe speech) to sit in her place and throne, being much worthier of the same, for her qualities and rare vertues, then was the other. Which undutifull speech, albeit it were overheard and condemned of divers that sate about them; yet none darst ever report the same to her Majesty, as I have heard sundry Courtiers affirme, in respect of the revenge which the reporters should abide at my Lord of Leycesters hands, whensoever the matter should come to light.

And this is now concerning the opinion and secret speeches of my Lords owne friends, who cannot but utter their conceit and judgement in time and place convenient, whatsoever they are willed to give out publikely to the contrary, for deceiving of such as will beleeve faire painted words,

The words of  
Mistresse Anne  
West sister unto  
this holy Commu-  
nion.

words, against evident and manifest demonstration of reason.

Three arguments  
of Leycesters  
meaning for  
himselfe before  
Huntington.

I say reason, for that if none of these signes and tokens were, none of these preparations nor any of these speeches and deteckions, by his friends that know his heart; yet in force of plain reason, I could allledge unto you three arguments onely, which to any man of intelligence, would easily perswade and give satisfaction, that my Lord of *Leycester* meaneth best and first for himselfe in this suit. Which three arguments, for that you seeme to be attent; I will not stick to run over in all brevity.

The first argu-  
ment, the Nature  
of ambition.

And the first, is the very nature and quality of ambition it self, which is such, (as you know) that it never stayeth, but passeth from degree to degree and the more it obtaineth, the more it coveteth, and the more esteemeth it selfe, both worthy and able to obtaine. And in our matter that now we handle; even as in wooing, he that sueth to a Lady for another, and obtaineth her good will, entereth easily into conceit of his owne worthinesse thereby, and so commonly into hope of speeding himselfe, while he speaketh for his friend: so much more in Kingdomes: he that seeth himself of power to put the Crowne of another mans head, will quickly step to the next degree, which is, to set it of his owne, seeing that, alwayes the charity of such good men, is wont to be so orderly, as (according to the precept) it beginneth with it selfe first.

Adde to this, that ambition is jealous, suspicious and fearfull of it selfe, especially when it is joynd with a conscience loden with the guilt of many crimes, whereof he would be loth to be called to account, or be subject to any man that might by authority take review of his life & actions, when it should

should please him. In which kinde, seeing my Lord of *Leycester* hath so much to encrease his feare, as before hath beene shewed by his wicked dealings: it is not like, that ever hee will put himselfe to another mans courtesie, for passing his audit in particular reckonings, which he can no way answer or satisfie: but rather will stand upon the grosse Sum, and generall *Quietus est*, by making himselfe chiefe Auditor, and Master of all accompts for his owne part in this life, howsoever he do in the next: whereof such humours have little regard. And this is for the nature of ambition in it selfe.

The second argument may bee taken from my Lords particular disposition: which is such, as may give much light also to the matter in question; being a disposition so well liking and inclined to a Kingdome, as it hath beene tampering about the same, from the first day that hee came in favour. First, by seeking openly to marry with the Queenes Majestie her selfe, and so to draw the Crowne upon his owne head, and to his posterity. Secondly, when that attempt tooke not place, then hee gave it out, as hath beene shewed before, how that he was privily contracted to her Majesty, (wherein as I told you his dealing before for satisfaction of a stranger, so let him with shame and dishonour remember now also, the spectacle hee secretly made for the persuading of a subject, and Counsellour of great honour in the same cause) to the end that if her Highnesse should by any way have miscarried, then he might have entituled any one of his owne brood, (whereof he hath store in many places as is knowne) to the lawfull succession of the Crowne, under colour of that privy and secret marriage, pretending the same to bee by her Majestie: wherein hee will want no witnesses to depose what hee will.

The second  
argument.  
*Leycesters*  
particular  
disposition.

*Leycesters*  
disposition to  
tamper for a  
Kingdome.

I meane the  
noble old  
Earle of  
*Pembroke*.

G

Thirdly,



The undur-  
full devise  
of Naturall  
issue, in the  
Statute of  
succession.

Thirdly, when he saw also that this devise was sub-  
ject to danger, for that his privy contract might  
be denied more easily, then he able justly to prove  
the same, after her Majesties decease: he had a new  
fetch to strengthen the matter, and that was to  
cause these words of (*Naturall issue*) to be put in-  
to the Statute of succession for the Crowne, against  
all order and custome of our Realme, and against  
the knowne common stile of Law, accustomed  
to bee used in Statutes of such matter: whereby  
hee might be able after the death of her Majesty,  
to make legitimate to the Crowne any one bastard  
of his owne, by any of so many hacknies as he kee-  
peth, affirming it to bee the *Naturall issue* of her  
Majesty by himselte. For no other reason can bee  
imagined why the ancient usuall words of *Law-  
full issue* should so cunningly bee changed into  
*Naturall issue*; thereby not onely to indanger our  
whole Realme with new quarrels of succession, but  
also to touch (as farre as in him lyeth) the Royall  
honour of his Sovereigne, who hath beene to him  
but too bountifull a Princeesse.

Fourthly, when after a time these fetches and de-  
vices began to be discovered, he changed straight  
his course, and turned to the Papists and Scottish  
faction, pretending the marriage of the Queene in  
prison. But yet after this againe, finding therein  
not such successe as contented him throughly, and  
having in the meane space a new occasion offered  
of baite; he betooke himselte fiftly to the party of  
*Huntington*: having therein (no doubt) as good  
meaning to himselte, as his Father had by joyning  
with *Suffolke*. Marry yet of late, he hath cast anew  
about, once againe, for himselte in secret, by treat-  
ing the marriage of young *Arbella* with his Son,  
intitled the Lord *Denbigh*.

The marriage  
of *Arbella*.

So that by this we see the disposition of this man bent wholly to a scepter. And albeit in right title, and descent of blood (as you say) hee can justly claime neither Kingdome nor Corage (considering either the basenesse or disloyalty of his Ancestours:) if in respect of his present state and power, and of his naturall pride, ambition, and crafty conveyance, received from his Father, hee hath learned how to put himselfe first in possession of chiefe rule, under other pretences, and after to devise upon the title at his leasure,

But now to come to the third argument: I say The third more, and above all this, that the nature and state of the matter it selfe, permitteth not, that my Lord of *Leycester* should meane sincerely the Crowne for *Huntington*; especially seeing there hath passed betweene them so many yeares of dislike and enmity: which albeit, for the time and present commodity, bee covered and pressed downe: yet by reason and experience we know, that afterward when they shall deale together againe in matters of importance, and when jealousie shall bee joyned to other circumstances of their actions, it is impossible that the former dislike should not breake out in farre higher degree, then ever before. The nature of the cause it selfe.

As wee saw in the examples of the reconciliation, The nature of made betwixt this mans Father, and *Edward*, Duke of *Somerset*, bearing rule under King *Edward* the sixt: and betweene *Richard* of *Yorke*, and *Edmund* Duke of *Somerset*, bearing rule in the time of King *Mary* the sixt. Both which Dukes of *Somerset*, after reconciliation with their old, crafty, and ambitious enemies, were brought by the same to their destruction soone after. Whereof I doubt not, but my Lord of *Leycester* will take good heed, in joy- The nature of old reconciliation and enmity.

ning by reconciliation with *Huntington*, after so long a breach: and will not be so improvident, as to make him his soveraigne, who now is but his dependent. He remembreth too well the successe of the Lord *Stanley*, who helped King *Henry* the seventh to the Crowne: of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who did the same for *Richard* the third; of the Earle of *Warwicke*, who set up King *Edward* the fourth: and of the three *Percies*, who advanced to the Scepter King *Henry* the fourth. All which Noblemen upon occasions that after fell out, were rewarded with death by the selfe same Princes, whom they had preferred.

The reason  
of *Machavell*.

And that not without reason, as Seignior *Machavell*, my Lords Counsellour affirmeth. For that such Princes, afterward can never give sufficient satisfaction to such friends, for so great a benefit received. And consequently, least upon discontentment, they may chance to doe as much for others against them, as they have done for them against others: the surest way is, to recompence them with such a reward, as they shall never after be able to complaine of.

The meaning  
of the Duke  
of *Northum-  
berland* with  
*Suffolke*.

Wherefore I can never thinke that my Lord of *Leycester* will put himselfe in danger of the like successe at *Huntingtons* hands: but rather will follow the plot of his owne Father, with the Duke of *Suffolke*, whom no doubt, but hee meant onely to use for a pretext and helpe, whereby to place himselfe in supream dignity, and afterward whatsoever had befallen of the state, the others head could never have come to other end, then it enjoyed. For if *Queene Mary* had not cut it off, King *John* of *Northumberland* would have done the same in time, and so all men doe well know, that were privy to any of his cunning dealings.

And

And what *Huntingtons* secret opinion of *Leycester* is, (notwithstanding this outward shew of dependance) it was my chance to learne, from the mouth of a speciall man of that hasty King, who was his Ledger or Agent in *London*; and at a time falling in talke of his Masters title, declared that he had heard him divers times in secret, complaine to his Lady, (*Leycesters* sister) as greatly fearing that in the end, he would offer him wrong, and pretend some title for himselfe. South-house

Well (quoth the Lawyer) it seemeth by this last point, that these two Lords are cunning practicioners in the art of dissimulation: but for the former Lawyer.

whereof you speake, in truth, I have heard men of good discourse affirme, that the Duke of *Northumberland* had strange devises in his head, for deceiving of *Suffolke*, (who was nothing so fine as himselfe,) and for bringing the Crowne to his owne Family. And among other devises it is thought, that hee had most certaine intention to marry the Lady *Mary* himselfe, after once hee had brought her into his owne hands) and to have bestowed her Majestie that now is, upon some one of his children (if it should have beene thought best to give her life, (and so consequently to have shaken off *Suffolke* and his pedegree, with condigne punishment, for his bold behaviour in that behalfe. The meaning of the D. of Northumberland towards the D. of Suffolke.

Verily (quoth I) this had beene an excellent *Scholar.* Stratageme, if it had taken place. But I pray you (Sir) how could himselfe have taken the Lady *Mary* to wife, seeing hee was at that time married to another?

O (quoth the Gentleman) your question like a *Gentleman.* *Schollar.* As though my Lord of *Leycester* had not a wife alive, when hee first began to pretend marriage

The practise  
of King Rich-  
ard for dis-  
patching his  
Wife.

riage to the *Queenes Majesty*. Do not you remem-  
ber the story of King *Richard* the third, who at such  
time as he thought best for the establishing of his  
title; to marry his owne Neece, that afterward was  
married to King *Henry* the seventh; how he caused  
secretly to be given abroad that his owne wife was  
dead, whom all the World knew to bee then alive  
and in good health, but yet sone afterward she was  
seene dead indeed. These great personages in mat-  
ters of such weight, as is a Kingdome, have privi-  
ledges to dispose of Womens bodies, marriages,  
lives and deaths, as shall be thought for the time  
most convenient.

A new *Trium-  
virat* between  
*Leycester*, *Tal-  
bot*, and the  
Countesse of  
*Shrewsbury*.

And what doe you thinke (I pray you) of this  
new *Triumvirat* so lately concluded about *Arbell*  
(for so I must call the same; though one of the  
three persons bee no *Vir*, but *Virago*;) I mean  
of the marriage betweene young *Denbigh* and the  
little Daughter of *Lenox*, whereby the Father-in-  
law, the Grand-mother, and the Uncle of the now  
designed *Queene*, have conceived to themselves a  
singular triumphant raigne. But what doe you  
think may ensue hereof? is there nothing of the old  
plot of Duke *John* of *Northumberland* in this?

Lawyer.

Marry Sir, (quoth the Lawyer) if this be so,  
I dare assure you there is sequell enough pretended  
hereby. And first, no doubt but there goeth a deep  
drift, by the wife and sonne, against old *Abraham*  
(the Husband and Father) with the well-lined  
large pouch. And secondly, a farre deeper, by  
trusty *Robert* against his best Mistresse: but dee-  
pest of all by the whole Crew, against the designed  
ments of the hasty Earle; who thirsteth a King-  
dome with great intemperance, and seemeth (if there  
were plaine dealing) to hope by these good people  
to quench shortly his drought.

Huntingdon.

But

But either part, in truth, seeketh to deceive others  
and therefore it is hard to say where the game in  
the will rest.

Well, howsoever that be (quoth the Gentleman) *Gentleman.*  
I am of opinion, that my Lord of *Leycester* will use  
both this practise and many more, for bringing the  
Scepter finally to his owne head: and that he will  
not onely employ *Huntington* to defeate *Statland*,  
and *Arbella* to defeate *Huntington*: but also would  
the marriage of the Queene imprisoned, to de-  
feat them both, if she were in his hand: and any one  
of all three to dispossesse her Majesty that now is: as  
also the authority of all foure to bring it to him-  
selfe: with many other fetches, flings and friscoes  
and fides, which simple men as yet doe not conceiue.

The sleights  
of *Leycester*  
for bringing  
all to him-  
selfe.

And howsoever these two conjoynd Earles, doe  
come for the time to draw together, and to play  
scambling between *Ley-*  
cester & *Hun-*  
tington at the  
upshot.  
And *Hastings*, for  
I see, when hee commeth to the scambling,  
is like to have no better luck by the Beare, then  
his Ancestour had once by the Boare. Who using  
his helpe first in murdering the Sonne and Heire  
of King *Henry* the sixt, and after in destroying the  
richfull Friends and Kinsmen of King *Edward*  
the fift, for his easier way to usurpation: made an  
end of him also in the Tower, at the very same  
day and houre, that the other were by his coun-  
sell destroyed in *Pontfrei Castle*. So that where  
the Goale and price of the game is a Kingdome,  
there is neither faith, neither good fellowship, nor  
true play among the *Gamesters*. And this shall be  
enough for the first point: (*viz.*) what good my  
Lord of *Leycester* meaneth to himselfe in respect of  
*Huntington*.

*Richard of*  
*Glocester, An.*  
*1. Edw. 3.*

Touching the second, whether the attempte be  
G 4 purpo-

2. That the conspirators meane in her Majesties dayes.

purposed in her Majesties dayes or no, the matter is much lesse doubtfull, to him that knoweth or can imagine what a torment the delay of a Kingdome is, to such a one as suffereth hunger thereof, and feareth that every houre may breed some alteration, to the prejudice of his conceived hope. Wee see oftentimes that the childe is impatient in this matter, to expect the naturall end of his parents life. Whom, notwithstanding, by nature he is enforced to love: and who also by nature, is like long to leave this World before him: and after whole decease, hee is assured to obtaine his desire: but most certaine of dangerous event, if he attempt to get it, while yet his parent liveth. Which foure considerations are (no doubt) of great force to containe a child in duty, and bridle his desire: albeit sometimes not sufficient to withstand the greedy appetite of raigning.

Four considerations.

But what shall wee thinke, where none of these foure considerations do restraine? where the present Possessor is no parent? where she is like by nature, to out-live the expector? whose death must needs bring infinite difficulties to the enterprise? and in whole life-time the matter is most easie to be achieved, under colour and authority of the present Possessor? shall we thinke that in such a case the ambitious man will over-rule his owne passion, and leese his commodity.

A thing worthy to be noted in ambitious men.

As for that which is alleadged before, for my Lord in the reason of his Defenders: that his present state is so prosperous, as hee cannot expect better in the next change whatsoever should be: is of small moment, in the concept of an ambitious head, whose eye and heart is alwayes upon that, which he hopeth for, and enjoyeth not: and not upon that which already hee possesseth, be it never so good.

Especially



Especially in matters of honour and authority, it is an infallible rule, that one degree desired and not obtained, afflicteth more then five degrees already possessed, can give consolation: the story of Duke *Haman* confirmeth this evidently, who being the greatest subject in the World under King *Assuervus*, *Histor. 5.* after he had reckoned up all his pompe, riches, glory, and felicity to his friends, yet hee said, that all this was nothing unto him, untill he could obtaine the revenge which hee desired, upon *Mardocheus* his enemy: and hereby it commeth ordinarily to passe, that among highest in authority are found the greatest store of Male-contentes, that most doe endanger their Prince and Countrey.

When the *Perceies* took part with *Henry of Boling-broke*, against King *Richard* the second their lawfull Sovereigne: it was not for lack of preferment, for they were exceedingly advanced by the said King, and possessed the three Earledomes of *Nor-thumberland, wor-ces-ter*, and *Stafford* together, besides many other offices and dignities of honour. *The Perceies.*

In like sort, when the two *Neviles* tooke upon them to joine with *Richard of Yorke*, to put downe their most benigne Prince, King *Henry* the sixth: and after again in the other side, to put downe King *Edward* the fourth; it was not upon want of advancement: they being Earles both of *Salisbury* and *war-wick*, and Lords of many notable places besides. But it was upon a vaine imagination of future fortune, whereby such men are commonly led: and yet had not they any smell in their nostrils of getting the Kingdome for themselves, as this man hath to prick him forward. *The two Neviles.*

If you say that these men hated their Sovereigne, *Leycesters* hated to her Majesty: and that thereby they were led to procure his destruction: the same I may answer of my Lord living, though

The evill nature of ingratitude.

though of all men he hath least cause so to do. But yet such is the nature of wicked ingratitude, that where it oweth most, and disdaineth to be bound, there upon every little discontentment, it turneth double obligation into triple hatred.

*Leycesters*  
Speeches of  
her Majesty  
in the time of  
his disgrace.

This he shewed evidently in the time of his little disgrace, wherein hee not onely did diminish, vilipend, and debase among his friends, the inestimable benefits hee hath received from her Majestie, but also used to exprobrate his owne good services and merits, and to touch her highnesse with ingrate consideration and recompence of the same; which behaviour, together with his hasty preparation to rebellion, and assault of her Majesties Royal person and dignity, upon so small a cause given, did well shew what minde inwardly he beareth to his Sovereigne, and what her Majesty may expect, if by offending him, shee should once fall within the compasse of his furious pawes: seeing such a smoke of disdain could not proceed, but from a fierie fornace of hatred within.

The causes of  
hatred in *Leycester*  
towards  
her Majesty.

And surely it is a wonderfull matter to consider what a little check, or rather the bare imagination of a small overthrow, may worke in a proud and disdainfull stomacke. The remembrance of his marriage-mist, that hee so much pretended and desired with her Majestie, doth sticke deeply in his breast, and stirreth him daily to revenge. As also doth the disdain of certaine checks and disgraces received at sometimes; especially that of his last marriage: which irketh him so much the more, by how much greater feare and danger it brought him into at that time, and did put his Widow in such open phrensie, as shee ragged many moneths after against her Majestie, and is not cold yet, but remaineth as it were a sworn enemy for that injury,

injury, and standeth like a fiend or fury at the elbow of her *Amadis*, to stirre him forward when occasion shall serve. And what effect such female suggestions may worke, when they finde an humour proud and phable to their purpose, you may remember by the example of the Duchesse of *Somerset*, who inforced her Husband to cut off the head of his onely deare Brother, to his owne evident destruction, for her contentation.

Wherefore, to conclude this matter without further dispute or reason: saying, there is so much discovered in the case as there is: so great desire of raigne, so great impatience of delay, so great hope and habiliety of successe, if it be attempted under the good fortune and present authority of the conspiratours: seeing the plots be so well laid, the preparation so forward, the favourers so furnished, the time so propitious, and so many other causes conving together: seeing that by differing, all may be hazarded, and by hastening, little can be indangered; the state and condition of things well weyed: finding also the bands of duty so broken already in the conspiratours, the causes of mislike and hatred so manifest, and the solicitours to execution, so potent and diligent, as women, malice, and ambition, are wont to bee: it is more then probable, that they will not leese their present commodity, especially seeing they have learned by their Archi-type or Proto-plot which they follow, (I meane the conspiracy of *Northumberland* and *Sussex* in *King Edwards* dayes) that herein there was some error committed at that time, which overthrew the whole; and that was, the deferring of some things untill after the Kings death, which should have beene put in execution before.

For if in the time of their plotting, when as yet their

The force of female suggestions.

An evident conclusion that the execution is meant in time of her Majesty.

An error of the Father now to bee corrected by the Sonne.

their designements were not published to the world, they had under the countenance of the King (as well they might have done) gotten into their hands the two Sisters, and dispatched some other few affaires, before they had caused the young Prince to die: no doubt, but in mans reason the whole designement had taken place: and consequently it is to be presupposed, that these men (being no fools in their owne affaires) will take heed of falling into the like errour by delay: but rather will make all sure, by striking while the iron is hot, as our proverbe warneth them.

*Lawyer.*

It cannot bee denied in reason (quoth the Lawyer) but that they have many helpes of doing what they list now, under the present a favour, countenance, and authority of her Majesty, which they should not have after her Highnesse decease: when each man shall remaine more at liberty for his supream obedience, by reason of the statute provided for the uncertainty of the next successor: and therefore I for my part, would rather counsell them to make much of her Majesties life; for after that, they little know what may ensue, or befall their designements.

*Gentleman.*

They will make the most thereof (quoth the Gentleman) for their owne advantage, but after that, what is like to follow, the examples of *Edward* and *Richard* the second, as also of *Henry* and *Edward* the sixth, doe sufficiently fore-warne us: whose lives were prolonged, untill their deaths were thought more profitable to the conspiratours, and not longer. And for the statute you speak of, procured by themselves, for establishing the incertainty of the next true successor, (whereas all our former statutes were wont to be made for the declaration and certainty of the same) it is with *Proviso*, (as you know)

Her Majesties life and death, to serve the conspiratours turne.

know that it shall not endure longer then the life of her Majesty, that now raigneth : that is, indeed, no longer then untill themselves be ready to place another. For then, no doubt, but wee shall see a faire Proclamation, that my Lord of *Huntington* is the onely next heire : with a bundle of halters to hang all such, as shall dare once open their mouth for deniall of the same.

A Proclamation with halters.

At these words the old Lawyer stepped back, as somewhat astonied, and began to make Crosses in the ayre after their fashion, whereat we laughed; and then he said, truly my Masters I had thought that no man had conceived so evill imagination of this statute as my selfe : but now I perceive that I alone am not malicious.

Lawyer.  
Papistical blessing.

For my owne part, I must confesse unto you, that as often as I reade over this statute, or thinke of the same (as by divers occasions many times I doe) I feele my selfe much grieved and afflicted in minde, upon feares which I conceive what may be the end of this statute to our Countrey, and what privy meaning the chiefe procurers thereof might have for their owne drifts, against the Realme and life of her Majestie that now raigneth.

The statute of concealing the heire apparent.

And so much more it maketh mee to doubt, for that in all our records of law, you shall not find (to my remembrance) any one example of such a devise for concealing of the true inheritour : but rather in all ages, states, and times, (especially from *Richard* the first downeward) you shall finde statutes, ordinances, and provisions, for declaration and manifestation of the same, as you have well observed and touched before. And therefore, this strange and new devise must needs have some strange and unaccustomed meaning : and God of his mercy grant, that it have not some strange and unexpected event.

*Richard* going towards *Hierusalem*, began the custome by Parliament, as *Polidore* noteth, Anno 10. of *Richard* the second, to declare the next heire.

In

The danger  
of our Coun-  
try by con-  
cealing the  
next heire.

In sight of all men, this is already evident, that no-  
ver Country in the world was brought into more  
apparent danger of utter ruine, then ours is at this  
day, by pretence of this Statute. For whereas there  
is no Gentleman so meane in the Realme, that can-  
not give a guesse more or lesse, who shall bee his  
next heire, and his Tenants soone conjecture, what  
manner of person shall be their next Lord: in the ti-  
tle of our noble Crown, whereof all the rest depen-  
deth; neither is her Majesty permitted to know or  
say, who shall be her next successor, nor her subjects  
allowed to understand or imagine, who in right  
may be their future Sovereigne: An intollerable  
injury in a matter of so singular importance.

Great incon-  
veniences.

For (alas) what should become of this our native  
Country, if God should take from us her most ex-  
cellent Majesty (as once he will) and so leave us  
destitute upon the sudden, what should become of  
our lives, of our states, and of our whole Realme  
or government? can any man promise himselfe  
one day longer, of rest, peace, possession, life or li-  
berty within the land, then God shall lend us her  
Majesty to raigne over us? Which albeit, wee doe  
and are bound to wish that it may bee long: yet  
reason telleth us, that by course of nature, it can-  
not bee of any great continuance, and by a thou-  
sand accidents it may be much shorter. And shall  
then our most noble Common-wealth and King-  
dome, which is of perpetuity, and must continue  
to our selves and our posterity, hang onely upon  
the life of her Highnesse alone, well stricken in  
yeares, and of no great good health, or robustious  
and strong complexion?

Sir Christopher  
Hatton's Ora-  
tion.

I was within hearing some six or seaven yeares  
agoe, when Sir Christopher Hatton, in a very great  
assembly, made an eloquent oration (which after I  
wene

wene was put in print) at the pardoning and delivery of him from the gallowes, that by errour (as was thought) had discharged his peece upon her Majesties Barge, and hurt certaine persons in her Highnesse presence. And in that Oration he declared and described very effectually, what inestimable dammage had ensued to the Realme, if her Majesty by that or any other means should have beene taken from us. He set forth most lively before the eyes of all men, what division, what dissension, what bloudshed had ensued, & what farall dangers were most certaine to fall upon us, whensoever that dolefull day should happen: wherein no man should be sure of his life, of his goods, of his wife, of his children: no man certain whether to flie, whom to follow, or where to seeke repose or protection.

And as all the hearers there present did easily grant that he therein said truth, and farre lesse then might have beene said in that behalfe, things standing as they doe: so many one (I trow) hath heard these words proceed from a Councillour, that had good cause to know the state of his own Countrey, entred into this cogitation, what punishment they might deserve then, at the whole State and Common-wealths hands, who first by letting her Majesty from marriage, and then by procuring this Statute of dissembling the next inheritor, had brought their Realme into so evident and inevitable dangers: for every one well considered and weighed with himselfe, that the thing which yet only letted these dangers and miseries set downe by Sir *Christopher*, must necessarily one day faile us all, that is, the life of her Majesty now present: and then (say we) how falseth it out, that so generall a calamity as must needs overtake us ere it be long (and may, for any thing we know to morrow next) is not provided for, as well as fore-seens.

Intollerable  
Treasons.

Is



Is there no remedy, but that wee must willingly and wittingly runne into our owne ruine? and for the favour or feare of some few aspirours, betray our Countrey, and the bloud of so many thousand innocents as live within the land?

**The miseries  
to follow up-  
on her Maje-  
sties death.**

For tell mee (good Sirs) I pray you, if her Majestie should die to morrow next (whose life God long preserve and blesse,) but if she should be taken from us, (as by condition of nature and humane frailty she may) what would you doe? which way would you looke? or what head or part knew any good subject in the Realme to follow? I speake not of the conspiratours, for I know they will be ready and resolved whom to follow: but I speake of the plaine, simple, and well-meaning subject, who following now the utter letter of this fraudulent statute, (fraudulent I meane in the secret conceipt of the cunning aspirours :) shall bee taken at that day upon the sudden, and being put in a maze by the unexpected contention about the Crowne, shall be brought into a thousand dangers, both of body and goods, which now are not thought upon by them who are most in danger of the same. And this is for the Common-wealth and Countrey.

**The danger  
to her Maje-  
sty by this  
statute.**

But unto her Majesty, for whose good and safety the statute is onely pretended to be made, no doubt but that it bringeth farre greater dangers then any devise that they have used besides. For hereby under colour of restraining the claimes and titles of true successours, (whose endeavours notwithstanding, are commonly more calme and moderate then of usurpers,) they make unto themselves, a meane to forster and set forward their owne conspiracy without controlement: seeing no man of might may oppose himselfe against them, but with suspi-  
on,

th, that he meaneth to claime for himselfe. And so they being armed on the one side, with their authority and force of present fortunes, and defended on the other side, by the pretence of the statute: they may securely worke and plot at their pleasure, as you have well proved before that they doe. And whensoever their grounds and foundations shall be ready, it cannot be denied, but that her Majesties life lyeth much at their discretion, to take it, or use it, to their best commodity: (and there is no doubt but they will,) as such men are wont to doe in such affaires. Marry one thing standeth not in their powers so absolutely, and that is, to prolong her Majesties dayes, or favour towards themselves, at their pleasures: whereof it is not unlike but they will have due consideration, least perhaps upon any sudden accident, they might be found unready.

They have good care thereof I can assure you, *Gentleman.*  
 (quoth the Gentleman) and meane not to be prevented by any accident, or other mishap whatsoever: they will be ready for all events: and for that cause, they hasten so much their preparations at this day, more then ever before: by sending out their spies and solicitours everywhere, to prove and confirme their friends, by delivering their common warch-word: by complaining on all hands of our Protestants Bishops and Clergy, and of all the present state of our reformed Religion, (as they call it:) by amplifying onely the danger of Papists and Scottish faction: by giving out openly that now her Majesty is past hope of Child-birth; and consequently, seeing God hath given no better successe that way in two Women one after the other: it were not convenient (say they) that another of that sexe should ensue, with high commendation of the Law *Salick* in France,  
 H where-

The hast-  
 ning of the  
 Conspira-  
 tours.

whereby women are forbidden to succeed. Which speech, though in shew it be delivered against the Queen of *Scots*, and other of King *Henry* the seventh his line, that discend of Sisters: yet all men see that it toucheth as well the disabling of her Majesty, that is present, as others to come: and so tendeth directly to Maturation of the principall purpose, which I have declared before.

*Schollar.*

The Watch-word of the Conspirators.

Here said I, for the rest which you speake of, besides the Watch-word, it is common and every where treated in talke among them: but yet for the Watch-word it selfe (for that you name it) I thinke (Sir) many know it not, if I were the first that told you the story, as perchance I was. For in truth I came to it by a rare hap (as then I told you) the thing being uttered and expounded by a Baron of their owne faction, to another Noble man of the same degree and religion, though not of the same opinion in these affaires. And for that I am requested not to utter the second, who told it me in secret, I must also spare the name of the first, which otherwise I would not; nor the time and place where he uttered the same.

*Lawyer.*

To this (said the Lawyer) you doe well in that: but yet I beseech you, let me know this Watch-word (if there bee any such) for mine instruction and helpe when need shall require. For I assure you that this Gentlemans former speech of halters hath so terrified mee, as if any should come and aske, or feele my inclination in these matters, I would answer them fully to their good contentment, if I knew the Watch-word whereby to know them. For of all things, I love not to bee hanged for quarrels of Kingdomes.

*Schollar.*

Are you sciled. This Watch-word is, (said I) *whether you be sciled or no?* and if you answer yea, and seeme to understand

understand the meaning thereof: then are you knowne to be of their faction, and so to bee accompted and dealt withall for things to come. But if you stagger or doubt in answering, as if you knew not perfectly the mystery, (as the Nobleman my good Lord did, imagining that it had beene meant of his religion, which was very well knowne to be good, and settled in the Gospel) then are you discried thereby, either not to be of their side, or else to be but a Punic A great mystery. not well instructed; and consequently, he that moveth you the question, will presently break off that speech, and turne to some other talke, untill afterward occasion be given to perswade you, or else instruct you better in that affaire.

Marry the Noble man, whereof I spake before, perceiving by the demanding, that there was some mystery in covert, under the question: tooke hold of the words, and would not suffer the propounder to slip away (as he endeavoured) but with much tarrying brought him at length to expound the full meaning and purpose of the riddle. And this was the first occasion (as I thinke) whereby this secret came abroad. Albeit afterwards at the publique Communions, which were made throughout so many Shires, the matter became more common: especially among the strangers that inhabite (as you know) in great numbers with us at this day. All which (as they say) are made most assured to this faction, and ready to assist the same with great forces at all occasions.

Good Lord (quoth the Lawyer) how many mysteries and secrets be there abroad in the world, whereof we simple men know nothing, and suspect lesse. This Watch-word should I never have imagined: Assemblies at Commu- and for the great & often assemblies, under pretence of Communions, though of themselves, and of their mon-

Strangers  
within the  
Land.

The perill of  
our Countrey  
if *Huntington*  
claime take  
place.

Gentleman.

The Red Rose  
& the White.

owne nature, they were unaccustomed, and consequently subject to suspicion; yet I did never conceive so farre forth as now I doe: as neither of the lodging and entertaining of so many strangers in the Realme, whereof our Artizans doe complaine every where. But now I see the reason thereof, which (no doubt) is founded upon great policy for the purpose. And by this also I see that the house of *Huntington* presseth farre forward for the game, and shouldesth neare the goale to lay hands upon the same. Which to tell you plainly, liketh me but a little: both in respect of the good, will I beare in the whole Line of King *Henry*, which hereby is like to be dispossessed; as also for the misery which I do fore-see, must necessarily ensue upon our Countrey, if once the challenge of *Huntington* take place in our Realme. Which challenge being derived from the title of *Clarence* only in the House of *Torke*, before the union of the two great Houses: raiseth up againe the old contention betwene the Families of *Torke* and *LANCASTER*, wherein so much *English* blood was spilt in times past, and much more like to be powred out now, if the same contention should be set on foot againe. Seeing that to the controversie of Titles, would bee added also the controversie of Religion, which of all other differences is most dangerous.

SH (quoth the Gentleman) now you touch a matter of consequence indeed, and such as the very naming thereof maketh my heart to shake and tremble. I remember well what *Philip Comines* setteth downe in his History of our Countreies calamity, by that contention of those two Houses, distinguished by the Red Rose and the White: but yet both in their Armes might justly have borne the colour of Red, with a fierie sword in a black field; to signifye

the abundance of blood and mortality which ensued in our Countrey, by that most wofull and cruell contention.

I will not stand here to set downe the particulars, observed & gathered by the foresaid author, though a stranger, which for the most part he saw himselfe, while hee lived about the Duke of *Burgundy*, and King *Lewis* of *France*, of that time: namely the pitifull description of divers right Noble men of our Realme, who besides all other miseries, were driven to begge openly in forraine Countries, and the like. Mine owne observation in reading over our Countrey affaires, is sufficient to make me abhorre the memory of that time, and to dread all occasion that may lead us to the like in time to come: seeing that in my judgement, neither the Civill warres of *Marius* and *Silla*, or of *Pompey* and *Cesar* among the *Romanes*, nor yet the *Guelphians* and *Gibelines* among the *Italians*, did ever worke so much woe, as this did to our poore Countrey. Wherein by reason of the contention of *Torke* and *Lancaster*, were foughten sixteene or seventeen pitched fields, in lesse then an hundred years. That is, from the eleventh or twelfth yeare of King *Richard* the second his raigne, (when this controversie first began to bud up) unto the thirteenth yeare of K. *Henry* the seventh. At what time by turning off the chiefe titler of *Huntingtons* house, to wit, yong *Edward Plantaginet* Earle of *Warwick*, Son and Heire to *George*, Duke of *Clarence*; the contention most happily was quenched and ended, wherein so many fields (as I have said) were foughten between Brethren and Inhabitants of our owne Nation. And therein, and otherwise onely about the same quarrel, were slain, murdered, and made away, about nine or ten Kings, and Kings Sonnes; besides above forty Earles, Marquesses, and Dukes of name:

The misery of  
England by  
the contenti-  
on betweene  
*Torke* and  
*Lancaster*.

*Guelphians*  
and *Gibelines*

*Edward Plantaginet* Earle  
of *Warwick*.

The Battell  
by Tadcaster  
on Palme  
Sunday, An.  
1460.

but many more Lords, Knights, and great Gentlemen and Capitaines: and of the Common people without number, and by particular conjecture neare two hundred thousand. For that in one Battell, fought by King Edward the fourth, there recorded to be slaine on both parts, five and thirtie thousand seven hundred and eleven persons besides others wounded and taken prisoners; to be put to death afterward, at the pleasure of the Conquerour: at diuers Battels after, ten thousand slaine in a Battell. And in those of *Barret* and *Takenbury*, fought both in one yeare.

The danger  
of *Huntington*  
claime, to the  
Realme, and  
to her Ma-  
jesty.

This suffered our afflicted Country in those dayes, by this unfortunate and deadly contention; which could never be ended, but by the happy conjunction of those two Houses together, in *Henry* the seventh, neither yet so (as appeareth by Chronicle) untill (as I have said) the state had cut off the Issue male of the Duke of *Clarence*, who was cause of diuers perill to King *Henry* the seventh, though he were in prison. By whose Sister the faction of *Huntington* at this day, doth seeke to raise up the same contention againe, with farre greater danger both to the Realme and to her Majesty that now reigneth, then ever before.

And for the Realme it is eident, by that it giveth roome to strangers; Competitours of the House of *Lancaster*; better able to maintaine their owne title by sword, then ever was any of that lineage before them. And for her Majesties perill present, it is nothing hard to conjecture: seeing the same title in the fore-said Earle of *Warwick*, was so dangerous and troublesome to her Grandfather (by whom she holdeth) as hee was faine twice to take armes in defence of his right, against the said title, which was in those dayes preferred and advanced by the friends



of *Clarence*, before that of *Henry*: as also this of *Huntington* is at this day, by his faction, before that of her Majesty though never so unjustly.

Touching *Huntington*'s title, before her Majesty, Lawyer.

(quoth the Lawyer) I will say nothing: because in reason, I see not by what pretence in the World, he may thrust himselfe so farre forth: seeing her Majesty is descended, not onely of the House of *Lancaster*, but also before him most apparently from the House of *York* in selfe, as from the eldest Daughter of King *Edward* the fourth, being the eldest Brother of that House. Whereas *Huntington*

How *Huntington* maketh his title before her Majesty.

claimeth onely by the Daughter of *George Duke of Clarence*, the younger Brother. Marry yet I must confesse, that if the Earle of *Warwick*'s title were better then that of King *Henry* the seventh, (which is most false, though many attempted to defend the same by sword:) then hath *Huntington* some wrong at this day by her Majesty. Albeit in very truth, the \* attaints of so many of his Ancestours by whom he claimeth, would answer him also sufficiently in that behalfe, if his title were otherwise allowable.

\* The most of *Huntington*'s Ancestours by whom hee maketh title, attained of Treason.

But I know besides this, they have another fetch of King *Richard* the third, whereby he would needs prove his elder Brother King *Edward* to bee a Bastard: and consequently his whole line, as well male as female to be void. Which devise though it be ridiculous, and was at that time when it was first invented, yet as *Richard* found at that time a Doctor *Shaw*, that shamed not to publish and defend the same, at *Pauls Crosse* in a Sermon; and *John* of *Northumburland* my Lord of *Leycesters* Father found out divers Preachers in his time, to set up the title of *Sussex*, & to debate the right of *K. Henries* daughter, both in *London*, *Cambridge*, *Oxford*, and other places,

The infamous device of King *Richard* the third, allowed by *Huntington*.

Anno 1. Maria.

A point to be  
noted by her  
Majesty.

The joyning  
of both hou-  
ses.

The Line of  
Portugall.

most apparently against all Law and reason: so I doubt not but these men would finde out also both *Shawes, Sands,* and others, to set out the title of *Clairence*, before the whole interest of King *Henry* the seventh and his posterity, if occasion served. Which is a point of importance to bee considered by her Majesty; albeit for my part, I meane not now to stand thereupon, but only upon that other of the House of *Lancaster*, as I have said.

For as that most honourable, lawfull, and happy conjunction of the two aduersary Houses, in King *Henry* the seventh and his Wife, made an end of the shedding of *English* blood within it selfe, and brought us that most desired peace, which ever since wee have enjoyed, by the raigne of their two most noble issue: so the plot that now is in hand, for the cutting off the residue of that issue, and for recalling backe of the whole Title to the House of *Torke* againe; is like to plung us deeper then ever in civile discord, and to make us the bait of all forraine Princes: seeing there be among them at this day, some of no small power (as I have said) who pretend to bee the next heires by the House of *Lancaster*: and consequently, are not like to give over or abandon their owne right, if once the doore bee opened to contention for the same, by disanulling the Line of King *Henry* the seventh: wherein only the keyes of all concord remaine knit together.

And albeit I know well that such as be of my Lord of *Huntington* party, will make small account of the Title of *Lancaster*, as lesse rightfull a great deale then that of *Torke*; (and I for my part meane not greatly to avow the same, as now it is placed, being my selfe no favourer of forraine Titles;) yet indiscreet men have to consider how it was taken in

times

times past, and how it may againe in time to come, if contention should arise: how many Noble personages of our Realme did offer themselves to die in defence thereof: how many Oaths and Lawes were given and received throughout the Realme for maintenance of the same, against the other House of *Yorke* for ever; how many worthy Kings were crowned, and raigned of that House and Race; to wit, the four most Noble *Henries*, one after another; the fourth, the fift, the sixt, and the seventh: who both in number, government, sanctity, courage, and feats of armes, were nothing inferiour (if not superiour) to those of the other House and Line of *Yorke*, after the division betweene the Families.

The old estimation of the House of *Lancaster*.

It is to bee considered also as a speciall signe of the favour and affection of our whole Nation unto that Family: that *Henry Earle of Richmond*, though Henry Earle descending but of the last Sonne, and third Wife of *John of Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, was so respected for that onely by the universall Realme: as they inclined wholly to call him from banishment, and to make him King with the deposition of *Richard*, which then ruled of the House of *Yorke*, upon condition onely, that the said *Henry* should take to Wife a Daughter of the contrary Family: so great was in those dayes the affection of *English* hearts towards the Line of *Lancaster*, for the great worthinesse of such Kings as had raigned of that Race, how good or bad soever their Title were: which I stand not here at this time to discusse, but onely to insinuate what party the same found in our Realme in times past; and consequently, how extreame dangerous the contention for the same may be hereafter: especially, seeing that at this day the remainder of that Title is pretended to rest wholly in a stranger, whose power is very great. Which we Lawyers are

The Line of *Portugal*.

are wont to esteeme as a point of no small importance, for justifying of any mans title to a Kingdome.

**Scholar** You Lawyers want not reason in that Sir (quod I) howsoever you want right: for if you will examine the succession of governments, from the beginning of the World untill this day, either among Gentile, Jew, or Christian people, you shall finde that the sword hath beene alwayes better then halfe the title; to get, establissh, or maintaine a Kingdome: which maketh me the more appalled to heare you discourse in such sort of new contentions, and forraigne titles, accompanied with such power and strength of the titlers, which cannot bee but infinitely dangerous and fatall to our Realme, if once it come to action; both for the division that is like to be at home, and the variety of parties from abroad. For as the Prince whom you signifie, will not faile (by all-likelyhood) to pursue his title with all forces that hee can make, if occasion were offered: so reason of state and policy will enforce other Princes adjoyning, to let and hinder him therein what they can: and so by this meanes shall we become *Juda* and *Israel* among our selves, one killing and vexing the other with the sword: and to forraigne Princes we shall be, as the Island of *Salamina* was in old time to the *Athenians* and *Megarians*: and as the Island of *Cicilia* was afterward to the *Grecians*, *Carthaginians*, and *Romans*: and as in our dayes, the Kingdome of *Naples* hath beene to the *Spaniards*, *French-men*, *Germans*, and *Venetians*; That is, a bait to feed upon, and a game to fight for.

Great dangers.

Wherefore, I beseech the Lord, to avert from us all occasions of such miseries. And I pray you Sir, for that wee are fallen into the mention of these matters,

matters, to take so much paines as to open unto me the ground of these controversies, so long now quiet betweene *York* and *Lancaster*: seeing they are now like to bee raised againe. For albeit in generall I have heard much thereof, yet in particular, I either conceive not, or remember not the foundation of the same; and much lesse the state of their severall titles at this day, for that it is a study not properly pertaining unto my profession.

The controversie betweene the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster* (quoth the Lawyer) took his actual beginning in the issue of King *Edward* the third, who died somewhat more then two hundred yeares agoe: but the occasion, pretence, or cause of that quarrell, began in the children of King *Henry* the third, who died an hundred yeares before that, and left two Sonnes; *Edward*, who was King after him, by the name of *Edward* the first, and was Grandfather to *Edward* the third; and *Edmond* (for his deformity called *Crookebacke*) Earle of *Lancaster*, and beginner of that House, whose inheritance afterward in the fourth descent, fell upon a Daughter named *Blanch*, who was married to the fourth Son of King *Edward* the third, named *John* of *Gaunt*, for that he was borne in the City of *Gaunt* in *Flanders*, and so by this his first wife, hee became Duke of *Lancaster*, and heire of that House. And for that his Son *Henry* of *Bolingbrooke* (afterward called King *Henry* the fourth) pretended among other things, that *Edmond Crookeback*, great Grandfather to *Blanch* his mother, was the elder Sonne of King *Henry* the third, and unjustly put by the inheritance of the Crowne, for that he was Crook-backed and deformed: hee tooke by force the Kingdome from *Richard* the second, Nephew to King *Edward* the third, by his first Sonne, and placed the same in

*Lawyer.*

The beginning of the controversie betwixt *York* and *Lancaster*.

*Edmond Crookeback* beginner of the House of *Lancaster*.  
*Blanch*.

*John* of *Gaunt*.

Now the King in the House of Lancaster, where it remained for some was first brought to the House of Lancaster. three whole descents, untill afterward, Edward Duke of Yorke descended of John of Gaunts yonger brother, making claime to the Crowne by title of his Grandmother, that was heire to Lionel, Duke of Clarence, John of Gaunts elder Brother, tooke the same by force from Henry the sixt, of the House of Lancaster, and brought it backe againe to the House of Yorke: where it continued with much trouble in two Kings onely, untill both Houses were joyned together in King Henry the seventh, and his noble issue.

Hereby wee see how the issue of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, fourth Son to King Edward the third, pretended right to the Crowne by Edmond Crouchbacke, before the issue of all the other three Sonnes of Edward the third, albeit they were the elder Brothers, whereof wee will speake more hereafter. Now John of Gaunt though hee had many children, yet had he foure onely, of whom issue remaine, two Sonnes and two Daughters. The first Son was Henry of Bolingbrooke, Duke of Lancaster, who tooke the Crowne from King Richard the second, his Uncles Sonne, as hath bene said; and first of all planted the same in the House of Lancaster: where it remained in two descents after him, that is, in his Son Henry the fift, and in his Nephew Henry the sixt, who was afterward destroyed, together with Henry Prince of Wales, his onely Sonne and Heire, and consequently all that Line of Henry Bolingbrooke extinguished; by Edward the fourth of the House of Yorke.

The other Son of John of Gaunt, was John, Duke of Somerset, by Katherine Spinsford, his third wife: of King Henry which John had issue another John, and he, Margaret the seventh. his Daughter and Heire, who being married to Edmond

*mond Tyder*, Earle of *Richmond*, had issue *Henry* Earle of *Richmond*; who after was named King *Henry* the seventh, whose Line yet endureth.

The two Daughters of *John* of *Gaunt* were married to *Portugall* and *Castile*: that is, *Philip* borne of *Blanch*, Heire to *Edmond Crookeback*, as hath beene said, was married to *John* King of *Portugall*, of whom is descended the King that now possesseth *Portugall*, and the other Princes which have or may make title to the same: and *Katherine* borne of *Constance*, Heire of *Castile*, was married back againe to *Henry* King of *Castile* in *Spaine*, of whom King *Philip* is also descended. So that by this, wee see where the remainder of the House of *Lancaster* resteth, if the Line of King *Henry* the seventh were extinguished: and what pretext forraigne Princes may have to subdue us, if my Lord of *Huntington* either now, or after her Majesties dayes, will open to them the doore, by shutting out the rest of King *Henries* Line, and by drawing backe the title to the onely House of *Torke* againe: which he pretendeth to doe, upon this that I will now declare.

King *Edward* the third, albeit he had many children, yet five onely will we speake of at this time: Whereof three were elder then *John* of *Gaunt*, and one yonger. The first of the elder was named *Edward* the blacke Prince, who died before his Father, leaving one onely Sonne named *Richard*, who afterward being King, and named *Richard* the second, was deposed without issue, and put to death by his Cousin germain, named *Henry Bolingbrooke*, Duke of *Lancaster*, Son to *John* of *Gaunt*, as hath beene said; and so there ended the Line of King *Edwards* first Sonne.

King *Edwards* second Sonne, was *William* of *Hatsfeld*, that died without issue.

The two Daughters married to *Portugall* and *Castile*.

Forraigne titles.

The issue of King *Edward* the 3.

His



Two *Edmonds*,  
the two be-  
ginners of the  
two Houses  
of *Lancaster*  
and *Torke*.

His third Sonne was *Leonell Duke of Clarence*, whose onely Daughter and Heire called *Philip*, was married to *Edmond Mortimer Earle of March*: and after that, *Anne* the Daughter and Heire of *Mortimer*, was married to *Richard Plantaginet*, Duke of *Torke*, Son and Heire to *Edmond of Langley*, the first Duke of *Torke*: which *Edmond* was the fift Son of King *Edward* the third, and younger Brother to *John of Gaunt*. And this *Edmond of Langley* may bee called the first beginner of the House of *Torke*: even as *Edmond Crouchback*, the beginner of the House of *Lancaster*.

The claime  
and title of  
*Torke*.]

This *Edmond Langley*, then having a Sonne named *Richard*, that married *Anne Mortimer*, sole Heire to *Leonell Duke of Clarence*, joynd two Lines and two Titles in one: I meane the Line of *Leonell*, and of *Edmond Langley*, who were (as hath bin said) the third and the fift Sonnes to King *Edward* the third. And for this cause, the childe that was borne of this marriage, named after his Father *Richard Plantaginet*, Duke of *Torke*, seeing himsele strong, and the first Line of King *Edward* the thirds eldest Son to be extinguished in the death of King *Richard* the second: and seeing *William of Hatfield* the second Sonne dead likewise without issue: made demand of the Crowne for the House of *Torke*, by the title of *Leonell* the third Sonne of King *Edward*. And albeit hee could not obtaine the same in his dayes, for that hee was slaine in a Battell against King *Henry* the sixt at *Wakefield*: yet his Sonne *Edward* got the same, and was called by the name of King *Edward* the fourth.

The issue of  
King *Edward*  
the fourth.

This King at his death left divers children, as namely two Sonnes, *Edward* the fift and his Brother, who after were both murdered in the Tower, as shall be shewed: and also five Daughters: to wit,

*Elizabeth*,

*Elizabeth, Cicily, Anne, Katherine, and Brigit.*  
Whereof the first was married to *Henry* the seventh.  
The last became a Nunne, and the other three were  
bestowed upon divers other husbands.

Hee had also two Brothers: the first was called *The Duke of*  
*George Duke of Clarence*, who afterward upon his *Clarence at-*  
deserts (as is to be supposed,) was put to death in *tainted by*  
*Calis*, by commandement of the King, and his at- *Parliament.*  
tainer allowed by Parliament. And this man left  
behinde him a Sonne, named *Edward Earle of*  
*Warwick*, put to death afterward without issue, by  
King *Henry* the seventh, and a Daughter named  
*Margaret*, Countesse of *Salisbury*, who was married  
to a meane Gentleman named *Richard Poole*, by  
whom she had issue *Cardinall Poole*, that died with-  
out marriage; and *Henry Poole* that was attainted *Huntingtons*  
and executed in King *Henry* the eighth his time; *title by the*  
(as also her selfe was) and this *Henry Poole* left a *Duke of Cla-*  
Daughter married afterward to the Earle of *rence.*  
*Huntington*, by whom this Earle that now is maketh title  
to the Crowne. And this is the effect of my Lord of  
*Huntingtons* title.

The second Brother of King *Edward* the fourth,  
was *Richard Duke of Gloucester*, who after the Kings *King Richard*  
death, caused his two Sonnes to be murdered in the *the third.*  
Tower, and tooke the Kingdome to himselfe. And  
afterward he being slaine by King *Henry* the seventh  
at *Bosworth-field*, left no issue behind him. Where-  
fore King *Henry* the seventh descending as hath bin  
shewed of the House of *Lancaster*, by *John of Gaunts*  
last Sonne and third Wife, and taking to Wife Lady *The happy*  
*Elizabeth*, eldest daughter of King *Edward* the *conjunction*  
fourth, of the House of *York*: joyned most happily *of the two*  
the two Families together, and made an end of all *Houses.*  
controversies about the title.

Now King *Henry* the seventh had issue three Chil-  
dren:

The issue of  
King *Henry*  
the seventh.

The Line and  
Title of Scot-  
land by *Margaret*, eldest  
Daughter to  
King *Henry*  
the 7.

*Arbella*

The Line and  
Title of *Suffolk* by *Mary*,  
second daugh-  
ter to King  
*Henry* the 7.

The issue of  
*Francis*, eldest  
Daughter to  
*Charles Brandon*,  
Duke of  
*Suffolk*.

dren : of whom remaineth posterity. First, *Henry* the eighth, of whom is descended our Sovereigne, her Majesty that now happily reigneth, and is the last that remaineth alive of that first Line. Secondly, he had two Daughters : whereof the first named *Margaret*, was married twice ; first to *James* King of *Scotland*, from whom are directly descended the *Queene of Scotland* that now liveth, and her Sonnes ; and King *James* being dead, *Margaret* was married againe to *Archibald Douglas* Earle of *Angus* ; by whom shee had a Daughter named *Margaret*, which was married afterward to *Matthew Steward*, Earle of *Lennox*, whose Sonne *Charles Steward* was married to *Elizabeth Candish*, Daughter to the present Countesse of *Shrewsbury*, and by her hath left his onely Heire, a little Daughter named *Arbella*, of whom you have heard some speech before. And this is touching the Line of *Scotland*, descending from the first and eldest Daughter of King *Henry* the seventh.

The second Daughter of King *Henry* the seventh called *Mary*, was twice married also : first to the King of *France*, by whom she had no issue : and after his death to *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, by whom she had two Daughters ; that is, *Francis*, of which the Children of my Lord of *Hartford* do make their claime : and *Eleanor*, by whom the issue of the Earle of *Darby* pretendeth right, as shall be declared. For that *Francis* the first Daughter of *Charles Brandon* by the *Queene of France*, was married to the *Marquess of Dorset*, who after *Charles Brandon*'s death, was made Duke of *Suffolk* in right of his Wife, and was beheaded in *Queene Maries* time, for his conspiracy with my Lord of *Leycesters* Father. And she had by this man three Daughters : that is, *Jane*, that was married to my Lord of *Leycesters* Brother, and proclaimed

proclaimed Queene after King *Edward*'s death, for which both shee and her husband were executed : *Katherine* the second Daughter, who had two Sonnes, yet living by the Earle of *Harsford* : and *Mary* the third Daughter, which left no Children.

The issue of Francis eldest daughter to Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolke.

The other Daughter of *Charles Brandon* by the Queene of France called *Eleanor*, was married to *George Clifford* Earle of Cumberland, who left a Daughter by her named *Margaret*, married to the Earle of Darby, which yet liveth, and hath issue. And this is the title of the House of *Suffolke*, descended from the second Daughter of K. *Henry* the seventh, married (as hath been shewed) to *Charles Brandon* Duke of Suffolke. And by this, you may see also how many there be, who do thinke their titles to be far before that of my Lord of *Huntington*, if either right, law, reason, or consideration of home affaires may take place in our Realm : or if not, yet you cannot but imagine how many great Princes and Potentates abroad, are like to joyne and buckle with *Huntingtons* Line for the preeminence : if once the matter fall againe to contention by excluding the Line of King *Henry* the seventh, which God forbid.

The issue of Eleanor second daughter to Charles Brandon.

Truly Sir (quoth I) I well perceive that my Lords turne is not so nigh as I had thought, whether he exclude the Line of King *Henry*, or no: for if he exclude that, then must he enter the Combat with forraigne titlers of the House of *LANCASTER* : and if he exclude it not, then in all appearance of reason and in Law to (as you have said) the succession of the two Daughters of King *Henry* the seventh (which you distinguish by the two names of *Scotland* and *Suffolke*) must needs bee as clearely before him and his Line, that descended only from *Edward* the fourth his Brother, as the Queenes title that now reigneth

Scholar.

Huntington behind many other titles.

is before him. For that both Scotland, Suffolke and her Majesty do hold all by one foundation, which is the union of both Houses and Titles together, in King Henry the seventh her Majesties Grandfather.

**Gentleman.**

That is true (quoth the Gentleman) and evident enough in every mans eye ; and therefore no doubt: but as that much is meant against her Majesty, if occasion serve, as against the rest that hold by the same title. Albeit her Majesties state (the Lord be praised) be such at this time, as it is not safety to pretend so much against her, as against the rest, whatsoever be meant. And that in truth, more should be ment against her highnes, then against all the rest : there is this reason; for that her Majesty by her present possession letteth more their desires, then all the rest together with their future

The policy of the conspiratours for the deceiving of her Maicsty.

pretences. But as I have said, it is not safety for them, nor yet good policy to declare openly, what they meane against her Majesty. It is the best way for the present to hew downe the rest, and to leave her Majesty for the last blow and upshot to their game. For which cause, they will seeme to make great difference at this day, betweene her Majesties title and the rest, that descend in likewise from King Henry the seventh : avowing the one, and disallowing the other. Albeit, my Lord of Leicesters Father, preferred that of Suffolke, when time was, before this of her Majesty, and compelled the whole Realme to swear thereunto. Such is the variable policy of men, that serve the time, or rather that serve themselves, of all times, for their purposes.

**Scholar.**

I remember (quoth I) that time of the Duke, and was present my selfe, at some of his Proclamations for that purpose : wherein my Lord his Sonne

Sonne that now liveth : being then a doer, (as I can tell he was : ) I marvile how he can deale so contrary now : preferring not onely her Majesties title before that of *Suffolk* ( whereof I wonder lesse because it is more gainfull to him, ) but also another much further of. But you have satisfied the cause, in that the times are changed, and other bargaines are in hand of more importance for him. Wherefore leaving this to be considered by others whom it concerneth, I beseech you, Sir, (for that I know, your worship hath beene much conversant among their friends and favourers ) to tell me what are the barres and lets which they doe alledge, why the house of Scotland and *Suffolk* descended of king *Henry* the seventh his daughters, should not succeed in the Crowne of England after her Majesty, who ended the line of the same king by his son ; for in my sight the matter appeareth very plaine.

*Leycesters variability.*

They want not pretences of barres and lets against them all ( quoth the Gentleman ) which I will lay downe in order, as I have heard them alledged. First, in the line of Scotland there are three persons as you know, that may pretend right, that is the Queen and her son by the first marriage of *Margaret*, and *Arbella* by the second. And against the first marriage, I heare nothing affirmed; but against the two persons proceeding thereof, I heare them alledge three stops, one for that they are strangers born out of the land, & consequently incapable of inheritance within the same ; another for that by a speciall testament of king *H. 8.* authorized by 2. severall parliam. they are excluded; 3. for that they are enemies to the religion now among us & therefore to be debarred.

*Gentleman.*

*Barres pretended against the claim of Scotland and Suffolk.*

*Against the Queen of Scotland and her sonne.*

Against the second marriage of *Margaret* with *Archibald Douglas* whereof *Arbella* is descended,

*Against Arbella.*

they alledge, that the said *Archibald* had a former wife at the time of that marriage, which lived long after: and so neither that marriage lawfull, nor the issue therof legitimate.

Against Darby.

Against the children of Hartford.

The same barre they have against all the house and Line of Suffolke, for first they say, that *Charles Brandon* Duke of Suffolke, had a knowen wife alive when he married *Mary* Queen of France, and consequently, that neither the Lady *Frances* nor *Elenor*, borne of that marriage, can be lawfully borne. And this is all, I can heare them say against the succession of the Countesse of *Darby* descended of *Elenor*. But against my Lord of *Hartford* children, hat came from *Frances* the eldest daughter, I heare them alledge two or three bastardies more besides this of the first marriage. For first, they affirme that *Henry* Marquess *Dorset*, when hee married the Lady *Frances*, had to wife the old Earl of *Arundels* sister, who lived both then and many yeares after, and had a provision out of his living to her dying day: wherby that marriage could no way be good. Secondly that the lady *Katherine*, daughter to the said Lady *Frances*, by the Marques (by whom the Earl of *Hartford* had his children) was lawfully married to the Earle of *Pembroke* that now liveth, and consequently, could have no lawfull issue by any other during his life. 3ly. that the said *Katherine* was never lawfully married to the said Earl *Hartford*, but bare him those children as his Concubine, which (as they say) is defined and registered in the Archb. of *Canterburies* court, upon due examination taken by order of her Majesty that now reigneth, and this is in effect so much as I have heard them all alledge, about their affars.

Scholar.

It is much (quoth I) that you have said, if it may be all proved. Marry yet by the way, I cannot but smile to heare my Lord of *Leycester* allow of so many bastardies now upon the issue of Lady



*Frances*, whom in time past, when *Jane* her eldest daughter was married to his brother, he advanced in legitimation before both the daughters of king *Henry* the eight. But to the purpose: I would gladly know what grounds of verity these allegations have, and how far in truth they may stoppe from inheritance: for in deed I never heard them so distinctly alledged before.

*Leycesters* dealing with the house of *Sussex*.

Whereto answered the Gentleman, that our friend the Lawyer could best resolve that, if it pleased him to speake without his fee: though in some points alledged every other man (quoth he) that knoweth the state and common government of England, may easily give his judgement also.

*Gentleman.*

And in the case of bastardy, if the matter may be proved, there is no difficulty, but that no right to inheritance can justly bee pretended: as also (perhaps) in the case of forraine birth, though in this I am not so cunning: but yet I see by experience, that forrainers borne in other lands, can hardly come and claime inheritance in England, albeit, to the contrary, I have heard great and long disputes, but such as indeed passed my capacity. And if it might please our friend here present to expound the thing unto us more clearly, I for my part would gladly bestow the hearing, and that with attention.

*Bastardy.*

*Forraine birth.*

To this answered the Lawyer, I will gladly, sir, tell you my minde in any thing that it shall please you demand: and much more in this matter, wherein by occasion of often conference I am somewhat perfect. The impediments which these men alledge against the succession of king *Henry* the 8. his sisters, are of two kinds, as you see: The one knowne and allowed in our law, as you have well said, if it may be proved; and that is bastardy: whereby they seek to disable all the whole Line

*Lawyer.*

*Bastardies lawfull stops.*

The impediments against Scotland three in number.

A protestation.

Touching the first impediment of forraine birth.

and race of *Suffolke* : as also *Arbella* of the second and later house of Scotland. Whereof it is so small purpose to speak any thing here : seeing the whole controversie standeth upon a matter of fact onely to be proved or improved by records and witnesses. Onely this I will say, that some of these bastardies, before named, are rise in many mens mouthes, and avowed by divers that yet live : but let other men looke to this, who have most interest therein, and may be most damnified by them, if they fall out true. The other impediments, which are alledged onely against the *Queene* of Scots and her son, are in number three, as you recite them : that is forraine birth, king *Henries* testament, and Religion : whereof I am content to say somewhat, seeing you desire it : albeit there be so much published already in bookes of divers languages beyond the sea, as I am informed, concerning this matter, as more cannot be said. But yet so much as I have heard passe among Lawyers my betters, in conference of these affaires : I will not let to recite unto you, with this proviso and protestation alwayes, that what I speake, I speak by way of recitall of other mens opinions : not meaning my selfe to incurre the statute of affirming or avowing any persons title to the crown whatsoever.

First then touching forraine birth, there bee some men in the world that will say, that it is a common and generall rule of our law, that no stranger at al may inherit any thing by any means within the Land : which in truth I take to be spoken without ground, in that generall sense. For I could never yet come to the sight of any such common or uniuersall rule : and I know, that divers examples may be alledged in sundry cases to the contrary : and by that which is expressly set down

downe in the seventh and ninth years of king  
*Ed. the 4.* and in the eleventh and fourteenth  
 of *Hen. the 4.* it appeareth plainly that a stranger  
 may purchase lands in England, as also inherit by  
 his wife, if he marry an inheritrix. Wherefore  
 this common rule is to bee restrained from that  
 generality, unto proper inheritance only, in which  
 sense I do easily grant, that our common Law  
 hath been of ancient, and is at this day, that no  
 person born out of the allegiance of the king of  
 England whose father & mother were not of the  
 same allegiance at the time of his birth, shall be  
 able to have or demand any heritage within the  
 same allegiance, as heire to any person. And this  
 rule of our common Law is gathered in these  
 self same words of a statute made in the 25. year  
 of king *Ed. the third*, which indeed is the onely  
 place of effect, that can be alledged out of our law  
 against the inheritance of strangers in such sense  
 and cases as we are now to treat of.

An Alien may  
 purchase.

The true Maxi-  
 ma against Ali-  
 ens.

The statute of  
 King Edward  
 whence the  
 Maxima is ga-  
 thered.

And albeit now the common Law of our  
 Country do runne thus in generall, yet will  
 the friends of the Scottish claime affirme,  
 that hereby that title is nothing let or hindred at  
 all towards the Crowne; and that for divers  
 manifest and weighty reasons, whereof the prin-  
 cipall are these which ensue.

Reasons why the  
 Scottish title is  
 not letted by the  
 Maxima against  
 Aliens.

First, it is common and a generall rule of our  
 English lawes, that no rule, Axiome or Maxima  
 of law (be it never so generall) can touch or bind  
 the Crown, except expresse mention bee made  
 thereof in the same; for that the king and crowne  
 have great priviledge and prerogative above the  
 state and affaires of subjects, and great differen-  
 ces allowed in points of law.

The first reason.

As for example, it is a generall & common rule  
 of law, that the wife after the decease of her hus-

The rule of  
 thirds.

Tenant by cour-  
tesie.

band, shall enjoy the third of his lands: but yet the Queene shall not enjoy the third part of the Crowne, after the Kings death: as well appeareth by experience, and is to be seene by law, *Anno* 5. and 21. of *Edward* the third; and *Anno* 9. and 28. of *Henry* the sixt. Also it is a common rule, that the husband shall hold his wives lands after her death, as tenant by courtesie during his life, but yet it holdeth not in a Kingdome.

Division among  
daughters.

In like manner, it is a generall and common rule, that if a man dye seased of Land in Fee-simple, having daughters and no sonne, his lands shall be divided by equall portions among his daughters, which holdeth not in the Crowne: but rather the eldest Daughter inheriteth the whole, as if she were the issue male. So also it is a common rule of our law, that the executor shall have all the goods and chattels of the Testator, but not in the Crowne. And so in many other cases which might bee recited, it is evident that the Crowne hath priviledge above others, and cannot be subject to rule, be it never so generall, except expresse mention be made thereof in the same law: as it is in the former place and a statute alledged: but rather to the contrary (as after shall be shewed) there is expresse exception, for the prerogative of such as descend of Royall blood.

The 2. reason.

The Crowne no  
such inheritance  
as is meant in the  
statute.

Their second reason is, for that the demand or title of a Crowne cannot in true sense bee comprehended under the words of the former statute, forbidding aliens to demand heritage within the allegiance of England: and that for two respects. The one, for that the Crowne it selfe cannot be called an heritage of allegiance, or within allegiance, for that it is holden of no superiour upon earth, but immediately from God himselfe:

the

the second, for that this statute treateth onely and meaneth of inheritance by descent, as heyre to the same, (for I have shewed before that Aliens may hold lands by purchase within our Domini- on) and then say they, the Crowne is a thing in- corporate, and descendeth not according to the common course of other private inheritances: but goeth by succession, as other incorporations doe. In signe whereof it is evident, that albeit the King be more favoured in all his doings, then a- ny common person shall be, yet cannot hee avoyd by law his grants and letters patents by reason of his nonage (as other infants and common heires under age may doe) but alwayes be said to be of full age in respect of his Crown: even as a Prior, Parson, Vicar, Deane, or other person incorporate shall be, which cannot by any meanes in law bee said to be within age, in respect of their incorpo- rations.

The Crowne a  
corporation.

Which thing maketh an evident difference in our case, from the meaning of the former statute: for that a Prior, Deane, or Parson, being Aliens and no Denizens, might alwayes in time of peace demand lands in England, in respect of their cor- porations, notwithstanding the said statute or common law against Aliens, as appeareth by ma- ny booke cases yet extant: as also by the statute made in the time of King *Richard* the second, which was after the foresaid statute of King *Ed- ward* the third.

The third reason is, for that in the former sta- tute it selfe of King *Edward*, there are excepted expressely from this generall rule, *Infantes du Roy*, that is, the Kings off spring or issue, as the word *Infant* doth signifie, both in France, Portugall, Spaine, and other Countries: and as the Latine word *Liberi* (which answereth the same) is taken

The 3. reason.  
The Kings issue  
excepted by  
name.

com-

**Liberorum. F. de**  
**verb. sign.**

commonly in the civill law. Neither may we re-  
straine the french words of that Statute *Infantis du*  
*Roy*, to the kings children onely of the first degree  
(as some doe, for that the barrenness of our lan-  
guage doth yeeld us no other word for the same)  
but rather, that thereby are understood, as well the  
nephewes and other descendants of the king or  
blood Royall, as his immediate children. For it  
were both unreasonable and ridiculous to imagin  
that king *Edward* by this statute, would go about  
to disinherite his own nephewes, if he should have  
any borne out of his own allegiance (as easily he  
might at that time) his sons being much abroad  
from England; and the black Prince, his eldest  
son having two children borne beyond the seas:  
and consequently, it is apparent, that this rule or  
maxime set down against Aliens is no way to be  
stretched against the descendants of the king or  
of the blood Royall.

**The fourth reason**  
**The Kings mea-**  
**ning.**

Their fourth reason is, that the meaning of king  
*Edward* and his children (living at such time as  
this statute was made) could not be, that any of  
their issue or issue might be excluded in law,  
from inheritance of their right to the Crowne, by  
their foraine birth wheresoever. For otherwise, it  
is not credible that they would so much have dis-  
persed their own blood in other Countries, as they  
did; by giving their daughters to strangers, & other  
meanes: as *Leonel* the kings third son was married  
in Millan, and *John* of Gaunt the fourth son, gave  
his two daughters, *Philip* and *Katherine* to Portu-  
gall and Castile; and his neece *Joan* to the king  
of Scots: as *Thomas* of Woodstocke also the yon-  
gest brother, married his two daughters, the one  
to the king of Spaine, and the other to Duke of  
Britaine. Which no doubt (they being wise Prin-  
ces, and so neer of the blood Royall) would never  
have

**The matches of**  
**England with**  
**foreigners.**

have done; if they had imagined that hereby their issue should have lost all claime and title to the Crown of England: and therefore it is most evident, that no such bar was then extant or imagin'd

The first reason is, that divers persons borne out of all English dominion and allegiance, both before the Conquest and since, have bin admitted to the succession of our Crown, as lawfull inheritours, without any exception against them for their foraine birth. As before the Conquest is evident in yong *Edgar Etheling* borne in Hungarie, and thence called home to inherit the Crowne, by his great unckle king *Edward* the Confessor, with full consent of the whole Realm; the B. of Worcester being sent as Ambassador to fetch him home, with his father named *Edward* the out-law.

The first reason.  
Examples of  
forainers admitted

Flores hist. Anno  
1066.

And since the Conquest, it appeareth plainly in king *Stephen* and king *Henry* the second, both of them borne out of English dominions, and of Patents, that at their birth, were not of the English allegiance; and yet were they both admitted to the Crowne. Yong *Arthur* also Duke of Britain by his mother *Constance* that matched with *Geffray* king *Henry* the seconds sonne, was declared by king *Richard* his unckle, at his departure towards Jerusalem, and by the whole Realme, for lawfull heire apparent to the Crowne of England, though he were borne in Britaine out of English allegiance; and so he was taken and judged by all the world at that day: albeit, after king *Richards* death, his other uncle *Iohn*, most tyrannously took both his kingdome and his life from him. For which notable injustice, he was detested of all men both abroad and at home; & most apparently scourged by God, with grievous and manifold plagues, both upon himself and the Realm, which yielded to his usurpation. So that by this also it appeareth,

Pol. lib. 15. Flor.  
hist. 1208.

K. Iohn a tyrant



peareth, what the practice of our Countrey hath beene from time to time in this case of forraine birth: which practice is the best interpreter of our common English law: which dependeth especially, and most of all, upon custome: nor can the adversary alledge any one example to the contrary.

The 6. reason.  
The iudgement  
and sentence of  
K. Henry the  
seventh.

Their sixt, is of the judgement and sentence of King *Henry* the seventh, and of his Councell: who being together in consultation, at a certaine time about the marriage of *Margaret* his eldest daughter into Scotland: some of his Councell moved this doubt, what should ensue, if by chance the kings issue male should faile, and so the succession devolve to the heyres of the said *Margaret*, as now it doth? Whereunto that wise and most prudent Prince made answer: that if any such event should be, it could not be prejudiciall to England, being the bigger part, but rather beneficiall: for that it should draw Scotland to England: that is, the lesser to the more: even as in times past it happened in Normandy, Aquitaine, and some other Provinces. Which answer appeased all doubts and gave singular content to those of his Councell, as *Polidore* writeth, that lived at that time, and wrote the speciall matters of that reigne, by the kings owne instruction. So that hereby wee see no question made of king *Henry* or his Councellors touching forraine birth, to let the succession of Lady *Margaret*s issue: which no doubt would never have beene omitted in that learned assembly, if any law at that time had beene esteemed or imagined to beare the same.

And these are six of their principallest reasons to prove, that neither by the words nor meaning of our common lawes, nor yet by custome or practice of our Realme, an Alien may bee debarred from claim of his interest to the Crowne, when  
it

it falleth to him by rightfull descent in blood and  
 succession. But in the particular case of the Queen  
 of Scots and her son, they doe adde another rea-  
 son or two: thereby to prove them in very deed to  
 be no Aliens. Not only in respect of their often  
 and continuall mixture with English blood from  
 the beginning (and especially of late, the Queens  
 Grandmother and husband being English, and so  
 her sonne begotten of an English father) but also  
 for two other causes and reasons, which seeme in  
 truth of very good importance. The first is, for  
 that Scotland by all Englishmen (howsoever the  
 Scots deny the same) is taken and holden as sub-  
 ject to England by way of Homage; which many  
 of their kings at divers times have acknowledged:  
 and consequently the Queene and her son being  
 borne in Scotland are not borne out of the alle-  
 giance of England, and so no forrainers. The se-  
 cond cause or reason is, for that the forenamed sta-  
 tute of forrainers in the 25. yeare of King Edward  
 the third, is intituled, *of those that are borne beyond  
 the seas*. And in the body of the said statute, the  
 doubt is moved of children borne out of English  
 allegance beyond the seas: whereby cannot bee  
 understood Scotland, for that it is a piece of the  
 continent land within the seas. And all our old  
 Records in England, that talke of service to bee  
 done within these two countries, have usually  
 these Latin words, *Infra quatuor maria*, or in French  
*dans les quatre mers*, that is, within the foure Seas:  
 whereby must needs be understood as well Scot-  
 land as England, and that perhaps for the reason  
 before mentioned, of the subjection of Scotland  
 by way of Homage to the Crowne of England.  
 In respect whereof it may be, that it was accoun-  
 ted of old but one dominion or allegiance. And  
 consequently, no man borne therein can bee ac-  
 counted

The 7. reason.  
 The Queene of  
 Scots and her  
 son no Aliens.

counted an alien to England. And this shall suffice for the first point, touching foraine Nativity.

The second impediment against the Q. of Scots, & her son, which is K. Henry the 8. his testament.

For the second impediment objected, which is the testament of King *Henry* the eight, authorized by Parliament, whereby they affirm the succession of Scotland to be excluded: it is not precisely true that they are excluded, but onely that they are put back behinde the succession of the house of *Suffolk*. For in that pretended Testament (which after shall be proved to be none indeed) King *Henry* do disposeth, that after his own children (if they should chance to dye without issue) the Crowne shall passe to the heires of *Frances* & of *Elenor*, his neeces by his yonger sister *Mary* Queene of France; and after them (deceasing also without issue) the succession to returne to the next heire againe. Wherby it is evident, that the succession of *Margaret* Queene of Scotland, his eldest sister, is not excluded; but thrust back onely from their due place and order, to expect the remainder, which may in time be left by the yonger. Whereof in mine opinion, doe ensue some considerations against the present pretenders themselves.

Forain birth no impediment in the judgement of K. Henry the 8.

First, that in King *Henrys* judgement, the former pretended rule of foraine birth, was no sufficient impediment against Scotland; for if it had bin, no doubt but that he would have named the same in his alleaged testament, and thereby have utterly excluded that succession. But there is no such thing in the testament. Secondly, if they admit this testament, which allottereth the Crown to Scotland, next after *Suffolk*; then, seeing that all the house of *Suffolk* (by these mens assertions) is excluded by bastardy; it must needs follow, that Scotland by their own judgement is next, & so this testament will make against them, as indeed it doth in all points most apparantly, but only that it pre-

The succession of Scotland next by the judgement of the competitors.

ferreth

ferreth the house of Suffolk, before that of Scotland. And therefore (I think fir) that you mistake somewhat about their opinion in alleaging this testament. For I suppose, that no man of my Lord of *Huntington*'s faction, will alleage or urge the testimony of this testament; but rather some friend of the house of *Suffolk*, in whose favour, I take it, that it was first of all forged.

It may be (quoth the Gentleman) nor will I *Gentleman.* stand obstinately in the contrary; for that it is hard sometime to judge of what faction each one is, who discourseth of these affaires. But yet I marvel (if it were as you say) why *Lycesters* Father after *K. Edwards* death, made no mention therof in the favor of *Suffolk*, in the other testament which then he proclaimed, as made by *K. Edward* deceased, for preferment of *Suffolk* before his own sisters.

The cause of this is evident (quoth the Lawyer) *Lawyer.* for that it made not sufficiently for his purpose: The Duke of Northumberland's lands drift. which was to disinherite the two daughters of King *Henry* himselfe, and advance the house of *Suffolk* before them both.

A notable change (quoth the Gentleman) that *Gentleman.* a title so much exalted of late by the Father, above all order, right, ranke and degree; should now be so much debased by the Son, as though it were not worthy to hold any degree, but rather to be troden under-foot for plain bastardy. And you see by this, how true it is which I told you before; that the race of *Dudleys* are most cunning merchants, to make their gaine of all things men and times. And as we have scene now two testaments alleaged, the one of the Kings father, and the other of the kings sonne, and both of them in prejudice of the testators true successors: so many good subjects begin greatly to feare, that we may chance

The notable dealing of the house of Dudley.

to see shortly a third Testament of her Majesty for the tituling of *Huntington*, and extirpation of King *Henries* blood, & that before her Majesty can think of sicknesse: wherein I beseech the Lord I be no Prophet. But now, fir, to the foresaid Will and Testament of King *Henry*, I have often heard in truth, that the thing was counterfeited, or at the least not able to be proved: and that it was discovered, rejected, and defaced in Queen *Maries* time: but I would gladly understand what you Lawyers esteeme or judge thereof.

**Lawyer.**

The authority  
and occasion of  
King *Henries*  
testament.

Touching this matter (quoth the Lawyer) it cannot be denied, but that in the 28. and 36 years of King *Henries* reign, upon consideration of some doubt and irresolution, which the King himselfe had shewed, to have about the order of succession in his owne children, as also for taking away all occasions of controversies in those of the next blood; the whole Parliament gave authority unto the said King, to debate and determine those matters himselfe, together with his learned counsell, who best knew the lawes of the Realme, and titles that any man might have thereby: and that whatsoever succession his Majesty should declare as most right and lawfull under his letters patents sealed, or by his last Will and Testament rightfully made and signed with his owne hand: that the same should bee received for good and lawfull. Upon pretence whereof, soon after King *Henries* death, there was shewed a Will with the kings stamp at the same, and the names of divers witnesses, wherein (as hath beene said) the succession of the Crowne, after the kings owne children, is assigned to the heyres of *Frances* and *Elenore*, Nieces to the king, by his younger Sister. Which assignation of the Crown, being as it were a meer gift in prejudice of

of the elder sisters right (as also of the right of *Frances* and *Elenor* themselves who were omitted in the same assignation, and their heires intituled onely) was esteemed to be against all reason, law, and nature, and consequently not thought to proceed from so wise and sage a Prince as *K. Henrie* was knowne to be: but rather, either the whole forged, or at least wise that clause inserted by other, and the Kings stamp set unto it, after his death, or when his Majesty lay now past understanding. And hereof there wanteth not divers most evident reasons and proofes.

*The Kings  
Testament  
forged.*

For first, it is not probable nor credible, that King *Henrie* would ever go about, against law and reason, to disinherite the line of his eldest sister, without any profit or interest to himselfe: and thereby, give most evident occasion of Civill war and discord within the Realm, seeing, that in such a case of manifest and apparent wrong, in so great a matter, the authoritie of Parliament, taketh little effect, against the true and lawfull inheritor: as well appeared in the former times and contentions of *Henrie* the sixth, *Edward* the fourth, and *Richard* the third: in whose reignes, the divers and contrarie Parliaments made and holden, against the next inheritor, held no longer with any man, then untill the other was able to make his owne partie good.

*The first  
reason.*

*Injustice  
and impro-  
probabilities*

So likewise, in the case of King *Edward* the third his succession to *France*, in the right of his mother, though he were excluded by the generall assembly and consent of their Parliaments; yet he esteemed not his right extinguished thereby: as neither did other Kings of our Countrie that ensued after him. And for our present case, if nothing else should have restrained King *Henrie*,

*The ex-  
ample of  
France.*

K

from

from such open injustice towards his eldest sister : yet this cogitation, at least, would have stayed him : that by giving example of supplanting his elder sisters Line, by vertue of a testament or pretence of Parliament ; some other might take occasion to displace his children by like pretence : as we see that Duke *Dudley* did soone after by a forged testament of King *Edward* the sixt. So ready Schollars there are to be found, which easily will learne such lessons of iniquity.

*The second  
reason. In-  
congruities  
and indig-  
nities.*

*Adrian  
Stokes.*

Secondly, there be too many incongruities and indignities in the said pretended Will to proceed from such a Prince and learned counsell as King *Henries* was. For first, what can be more ridiculous, than to give the Crowne to the heires of *Francis* and *Elenor*, and not to any of themselves? or what had they offended that their heires should enjoy the Crowne in their right, and not they themselves? What if King *Henries* Children should have dyed, whiles Lady *Francis* had been yet alive? who should have possessed the Kingdome before her, seeing her Line was next? and yet by this testament shee could not pretend her selfe to obtaine it. But rather having married *Adrian Stokes* her horse-keeper, she must have suffered her sonne by him (if she had any) to enjoy the Crown : and so *Adrian* of a Serving man and Master of Horses, should have become the great Master and Protector of *England*. Of like absurditie is that other clause also, wherein the King bindeth his owne daughters to marry by consent and direction of his counsell, or otherwise to leese the benefit of their succession : yet bindeth not his Neices daughters, to wit, the daughters of *Francis* & *Elenor* (if they had any) to any such condition.

Thirdly, there may bee divers causes and arguments



guments alledged in law, why this pretended will is not authentickall : if otherwise, it were certaine that King *Henrie* had meant it : first, for that it is not agreeable to the mind and meaning of the Parliament, which intended onely to give authoritie for declaration and explication of the true title : and not for donation, or intricating of the same, to the ruine of the Realme. Secondly, for that there is no lawfull and authentickall Copie extant thereof, but onely a bare inrolment in the Chancerie, which is not sufficient in so weighty an affaire : no witnesse of the privie Councell or of Nobilitie to the same : which had been convenient in so great a case (for the best of the witnesses therein named, is Sir *Iohn Gater*, whose miserable death is well knowne :) no publike Notary, no probation of the will before any Bishop, or any lawfull Court for that purpose : no examination of the witnesses, or other thing orderly done, for lawfull authorizing of the matter.

But of all other things this is most of importance: that the King never set his owne hand to the foresaid Will, but his stampe was put thereunto by others, either after his death, or when he was past remembrance: as the late Lord *Paget* in the beginning of Queen *Maries* dayes, being of the Privie Councell, first of all other discovered the same of his owne accord, and upon meere motion of conscience, confessing before the whole Councell, and afterward also before the whole Parliament, how that himselfe was privy thereunto, and partly also culpable, (being drawn therunto, by the instigation and forcible authority of others :) but yet afterward upon other more godly motions detested the device : and so of his owne free-will, very honourably went and offered the

*The third reason.*

*The supposed Will is not authentickall.*

*The disproving of the Will by witnesses. The Lord Paget.*

**sir Edw. Montague** discoverie thereof to the Councell. As also did **Sir Edward Montague**, Lord chiefe Iustice that had been privy and present at the said doings, and one **William Clarke**, that was the man who put the stampe unto the paper, and is ascribed among the other pretended witnesses, confessed the whole premises to be true, and purchased his pardon for his offence therein. Whereupon **Queen Marie** and her Councell, caused presently the said Inrolment, lying in the Chancerie to be cancelled, defaced and abolished.

And sithence that time in her Majesties dayes that now liveth, about the 11. or 12. yeare of her reigne, (if I count not amisse) by occasion of a certaine little booke spread abroad at that time very secretly, for advancing of the house of *Sussex* folke, by pretence of this Testament: I remember well the place where the late Duke of *Northfolke*, the Marquess of *Winchester* (which then was Treasurer) the old Earles of *Arundell* and *Penbrooke* that now are dead, with my Lord of *Penbrooke* that yet liveth, (as also my Lord of *Leycester* himselfe, if I bee not deceived) with divers others, met together upon this matter: and after long conference about the foresaid pretended will, and many proofes and reasons laid downe, why it could not be true or authentickall: the old Earle of *Penbrooke* protesting that he was with the King in his chamber from the first day of his sickness unto his last houre, and thereby could well assure the falsification thereof: at length it was moved, that from that place they should goe, with the rest of the Nobility, and proclaime the Queen of *Scotland* heire apparent in *Cheapside*. Wherein my Lord of *Leycester* (as I take it was then as for-gaine play-ward as any man else: how bee it, now for his sh double. profit

profit, he be turned aside, and would turne back again to morrow next for a greater commodity.

And albeit, for some causes to themselves best known, they proceeded not in the open publishing of their determination at that time: yet my Lord of *Penbrooke* now living can beare witnesse that thus much is true: and that his father, the old Earle, at that time told him openly before the other Noblemen, that he had brought him to that assembly and place to instruct him in that truth, and to charge him to witnesse the same, and to defend it also with his sword (if need required) after his death. And I know that his Lordship is of that honour and Nobility, as he cannot leave off easily the remembrance or due regard of so worthy an admonition. And this shall suffice for the second impediment, imagined to proceed of this supposed Testament of King *Henric* the eighth.

As for the third impediment, of religion, it is not generall to all: for that only one person (if I be not deceived) of all the Competitors in *K. Henries* Line can bee touched with suspicion of different Religion, from the present state of *England*. Which person notwithstanding (as is well knowne) while shee was in government in her owne Realme of *Scotland*, permitted all liberty of Conscience, and free exercise of Religion to those of the contrary profession and opinion, without restraint. And if she had not, yet doe I not see, either by prescript of law, or practise of these our times, that diversity of Religion, may stay just Inheritors from enjoying their due possessions, in any state or degree of private men: and much lesse in the claime of a Kingdome: which alwayes in this behalfe as hath been said before) is preferred in priviledge.

*The old Earle of Penbrookes admonition to the Earle his son, yet living.*

*The third impediment of religion.*

*Princes of Germany.* This we see by experience, in divers Countries and parts of the world at this day : as in *Germany*, where among so many Princes, and so divided in religion as they be : yet every one succeedeth to the state whereto he hath right, without resistance for his religion. The examples also of her Majesty that now is, and of her sister before, is evident, who being known to be of two different

*Qs. Mary Queen Elizabeth.* inclinations in religion, and the whole Realme divided in opinion for the same cause : yet both of them at their severall times with generall consent of all, were admitted to their lawfull inheritance:

*\*The Duke of Monseur.* excepting onely a few \* traitors against the former, who withstood her right, as also in her the right of her Maiestie that is present, and that not for Religion, (as appeared by their owne confession after) but for ambition and desire of reigne,

*King of Navarre  
Prince of Condé.*

Monseur, the Kings brother and heire of *France*, as all the world knoweth, is well accepted, favoured, and admitted for successor of that Crowne, by all the Protestants at this day of that Country, notwithstanding his opinion in religion knowne to be different. And I doubt not, but the King of *Navarre* or Prince of *Condé*, in the contrary part would thinke themselves greatly injured by the state of *France*, which is different from them in religion at this day, if after the death of the King that now is, and his brother without issue, (if God so dispose) they should be barred from inheriting the Crowne, under pretence onely of their Religion. My Lord of *Huntington* himselfe also, is he not knowne to be of a different religion

*My Lord of Huntingtons religion.* from the present state of *England* ? and that, if he were King to morrow next, he would alter the whole government, order, condition, and state of religion, now used and established within the Realme ? But

But as I said in the beginning, if one of a whole family, or of divers families be culpable, or to be touched herein; what have the rest offended thereby? will you exclude all, for the mislike of one? And to descend in order; if the first in K. Henries line, after her Majesty may be touched in this point, yet why should the rest be damnified thereby? The K of Scotland her son, that next ensueth (to speak in equity) why should he bee shut out for his religion? And are not all the other in like manner Protestants, whose discent is consequent by nature, order, and degree.

*The title of those that ensue the Queene of Scots.*

For the yong K. of Scotland (quoth I) the truth is, that alwayes for mine own part, I have had great hope and expectation of him, not onely for the conceipt which commonly men have of such Orient youths, borne to kingdomes; but especially for that I understood from time to time, that his education was in all learning, princely exercises, and instruction of true religion, under rare and vertuous men for that purpose. Whereby I conceived hope, that he might not onely become in time an honourable and profitable neighbour unto us, for assuance of the Gospell in these parts of the world; but also (if God should deprive us of her Maiesty without issue) might be a meane by his succession to unite in Concord and Government the two Realmes together, which heretofore hath beene sought by the price of many a thousand mens blood, and not obtained.

*Schollar. The yong King of Scotland*

Marry yet now of late (I know not by what means) there is begun in mens hearts a certaine mislike or grudge against him, for that it is given out every where that he is inclined to be a Papist, and an enemy to her Majesties proceedings, which argueth him verily of singular ingratitude

if it be true, considering the great helpes and protection which he hath received from her Highnes ever sithens he was borne.

Gentl.

*The device  
to set out  
her Maje-  
sty with  
the young  
King of  
Scotland.*

And are you so simple (quoth the Gentleman) as to beleave everie report that you heare of this matter? know you not, that it is expedient for my Lord of *Leycester* and his faction, that this youth, above all other, bee held in perpetuall disgrace with her Majesty, and with this Realme? You know, that *Richard* of *Gloucester* had never been able to have usurped as he did, if hee had not first perswaded *K Edward* the fourth, to hare his owne brother the Duke of *Clarence*, which Duke stood in the way between *Richard* and the thing, which he most of all things coveted: that is, the possibilitie to the Crowne, and so in this case is there the like device to be observed.

For truly, for the yong King of *Scotland*s religion, it is evident to as many as have reason, that it can bee no other of it selfe but inclined to the best; both in respect of his education, instruction, and conversation with those of true religion: as also by his former actions, Edicts, Government, and private behaviour he hath declared. Marrie these men whose profit is nothing lesse, than that he or any other of that race should doe well: doe not cease dayly by all secret wayes, drifts, and molestations possible, to drive him either to dislike of our religion, or else to incurre the suspition thereof, with such of our Realme, as otherwise would be his best friends: or if not this, yet for very need and feare of his owne life, to make recourse to such other Princes abroad, as may most offend or mislike this state.

And for this cause, they suborne certaine busie fellowes of their owne crew and faction, per-  
taining

taining to the ministerie of *Scotland*, (but unwor- *The intolerable pro-*  
 thy of so worthy a calling ) to use such info- *ceedings of*  
 lencie towards their King and Prince , as is not *certaine Mi-*  
 onely undecent, but intolerable. For he may doe *nisters in*  
 nothing, but they will examine and discusse the *Scotland*  
 same in Pulpit. If hee goe but on hunting, when *against*  
 it pleaseth them to call him to their preaching : if *their King*  
 he make but a dinner or supper, when, or where, *by subor-*  
 or with whom they like not : if he receive but a *nation of*  
 couple of horses, or other present from his friends *his ene-*  
 or kinsmen beyond the seas : if hee salute or use *mies in*  
 courteously any man, or messenger which com- *England.*  
 meth from them ( as you know Princes of their  
 nobility and courtesie are accustomed, though  
 they come from their enemies, as very often  
 hath beene scene, and highly commended in her  
 Majestie of *England* : ) If hee deale familiarly  
 with any Ambassador which liketh not them : or  
 finally, if hee doe say or signifie any one thing  
 whatsoever that pleaseth not their humour, they  
 wil presently as seditious Tribunes of the people,  
 exclaime in publicke, and stepping to the Pulpit  
 where the Word of the Lord onely ought to be  
 preached, will excite the Communalty to discon-  
 tentation, inveying against their Sovereigne with  
 such bitterness of speech, unreverend tearmes, and  
 insolent controlements, as is not to be spoken :  
 Now imagine what her Majesty and her grave  
 counsell would do in *England*, if such proceedings  
 should be used by the Clergy against them.

No doubt (quoth I) but that such unquiet spirits Schollar.  
 should be punished in our Realme. And so I said  
 of late to their most reverend and worthy Prelate *Sir Patrick*  
 and Primate the Arch-bishop of *St. Andrews*, with *Adamson*  
 whom it was my luck to come acquainted in *Archbisch.*  
*London*, whither he was come by his Kings ap- *of St. An-*  
 pointment drowes.



pointment(as he said)to treat certain affairs with our Q. and Councell. And talking with him of this disorder of his ministerie, he confessed the same with much grieve of mind, and told me, that he had preached thereof before the K.himselfe, detesting and accusing divers heads therof, for which cause he was become very odious to them and other of their faction, both in *Scotland* and *England*. But he said, that as he had given the reasons of his doings unto our Qu. so meaneth he shortly to do the same unto *Monseur Beza*, and to the whole Church of *Geneva*, by sending thither the Articles of his and their doings, protesting unto me that the proceedings and attempts of those factious and corrupt men. was most scandalous, seditious and perilous. both to the K. person, and to the realm; being sufficient indeed, to alienate wholly the yong Prince from all affection to our religion, when he shall see the chiefe Professors thereof to behave themselves so undutifully towards him.

Gentl.  
Treasons  
plotted a-  
gainst the  
King of  
Scots.

That is the thing which these men, his competitors, most desire (quoth the Gentleman) hoping thereby to procure him most evill will and danger, both at home and from *England*. For which cause also, they have practised so many plots and treacheries with his owne subjects against him; hoping by that meanes to bring the one in distrust and hatred of the other, and consequently the K. in danger of destruction by his own. And in this machination, they have behaved themselves so dexterously, so covertly used the manage and contriving hereof, and so cunningly conveyed the execution of many things: as it might, indeed, seem apparent to the yong K. that the whole plot of treasons against his Realme, and

and Person, doth come from *England*, thereby to drive him into jealousie of our state, and our state of him: and all this for their owne profit.

Neither is this any new device of my Lord of *Leicester* to draw men for his own gain into danger and hatred with the state, under other pretences. For I could tell you divers stories and stratagems of his cunning in this kind, and the one farre different from the other in device: but yet all to one end. *I have a friend yet living, that was towards the old Earle of Arundel in good credit, and by that means had occasion to deal with the late Duke of Norfolk in his chiefest affaires before his troubles. This man is wont to report strange things from the Dukes owne mouth, of my L. of Leicesters most treacherous dealing towards him, for gaining of his bloud, as after appeared, albeit the Duke when he repented the same, mistrusted not so much my Lords malice therein. But the sum of all, is this in effect: that Leicester having a secret desire to pull down the said Duke, to the end that he might have no man above himselfe, to hinder him in that which he most desireth, by a thousand cunning devices drew in the Duke to the cogitation of that marriage with the Queen of Scotland, which after ward was the cause or occasion of his ruine. And hee behaved himselfe so dexterously in this drift, by setting on the Duke on the one side, and also by intrapping him on the other: as Iudas himselfe never plaied his part more cunningly when hee supped with his Master, and set himselfe so neer, as he dipt his spoon in the same dish, & durst before others, aske who should betray him? meaning that night to doe it himselfe, as he shewed soon after supper, when he came as a Captaine with*

*Leycesters  
cunning  
device for  
overthrow  
ing the D.  
of Norf.*

*The impu-  
dency of  
Iudas.*

with a band of Conspirators, and with a courteous kisse delivered his person into the hands of them, whom hee well knew to thirst after his blood.

*The speeches of  
Leycester to  
the Duke  
of Norf.*

*Leycest.  
cousenage  
of the  
Queene.*

The very like did the Earle of *Leycester* with the Duke of *Norfolk* for the act of treason, though in the parties betrayed there were great difference of innocency. Namely, at one time, when her Majesty was at *Basing* in *Hampshire*, and the Duke attended there to have audience, with great indifferency in himselfe to follow, or leave off his suit for marriage: (for that now he began to suspect, her Majesty liked not greatly thereof:) my Lord of *Leycester* came to him and counselled him in any case to persevere, and not to relent, assuring him with many oathes and protestations, that her Majesty must and should be brought to allow thereof, whether she would or no, and that himselfe would seale that purpose with his blood. Neither was it to be suffered that her Majesty should have her will herein; with many other like speeches to this purpose: which the Duke repeated againe then presently to my said friend: with often laying his hand upon his bosome and saying; I have here which assureth me sufficiently of the fidelity of my Lord of *Leycester*; meaning not onely the foresaid speeches, but also divers letters which he had written to the Duke of that effect, as likewise he had done to some other person of more importance in the Realme; which matter coming afterward to his knowledge, he counselled most notably her Majesty, by shewing her a reformed copie of the said Letters, for the Letter itselfe.

But now how well he performed his promise, in dealing with her Majesty for the Duke or against the

the Duke in this matter, her Highnesse can best tell, and the event it selfe shewed. For the Duke being admitted soon after to her Majesties speech at another place, and receiving a farre other answer than he had in hope conceived upon *Leycesters* promises, rettyred himselfe to London, where the same night following hee received Letters both from *Leycester*, and Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, upon *Leycesters* instigation ( for they were at that time both friends and of a faction ) that he should presently flye into *Norfolk*, as he did, which was the last and finall complement of all *Leycesters* former devices, whereby to plange his friend over the eares in suspition and disgrace, in such sort as he should never be able to draw himselfe out of the ditch againe, as indeed he was not, but dyed in the same.

And herein you see also the same subtile and Machivillian flight, which I mentioned before, of driving men to attempt somewhat, whereby they may incurre danger, or remaine in perpetuall suspition or disgrace. And this practice he hath long used, and doth dayly, against such as he hath will to destroy. As for example, what say you to the device he had of late, to intrap his well deserving friend, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, in the matter of *Hall* his Priest, whom hee would have had Sir *Christopher* to send away and hide, being touched and detected in the case of *Ardent*, thereby to have drawne in Sir *Christopher* himselfe, as Sir *Charles Candish* can well declare, if it please him, being accessory to this plot, for the overthrow of Sir *Christopher*: To which intent, and most devilish drift, pertained ( I doubt not ) if the matter were duely examined, the late interception of letters in *Paris* from one *Aldred* of *Lyons*, then in Rome,

*Rome, to Henr. Umpton, servant to Sir Christopher,* in which letters, Sir *Christopher* is reported to be of such credit and speciall favour in *Rome*, as if he were the greatest Papist in *England*.

Leycesters  
devices a-  
gainst the  
Earle of  
Shrews-  
bury.

What meaneth also these pernicious late dealings against the Earle of *Shrewsburie*, a man of the most ancient and worthiest Nobilitie of our Realm? what meane the practises with his nearest both in bed and bloud against him? what meane those most false and slanderous rumours cast abroad of late of his disloyall demeanours towards her Maiesty and his countrey, with the great prisoner committed to his charge? is all this to any other end, but onely to drive him to some impatience, and thereby to commit or say something which may open the gate unto his ruine? Divers other things could I recite of his behaviour towards other noble men of the Realm, who live abroad in their countries much injured and malecontented by his insolency: albeit in respect of his present power they dare not complaine. And surely, it is strange to see how little account he maketh of all the ancient nobilitie of our Realme: how he contemneth, derideth and debaseth them; which is the fashion of all such as mean to usurp, to the end they may have none who shall not acknowledge their first beginning and advancement from themselves.

Leycesters  
contempt  
of the an-  
cient No-  
bility of  
England.

Lawyer.

Not only usurpers (*quoth the Lawyer*) but all others who rise and mount aloft from baselynage, be ordinarily most contemptuous, contumelious, and insolent against others of more antiquity And this was evident in this mans father, who being a Buck of the first head (*as you know*) was intollerable in contempt of others: as appeareth by those whom hee trod downe of the Nobili-

New men  
most con-  
temptuous.

Nobilitie in his time : as also by his ordinarie  
 jests against the Duke of *Somerset* and others.  
 But among other times, sitting one day at his  
 owne table (as a Counsellor told mee that was  
 present) he took occasion to talke of the Earle of *D. Dudley*  
*Arundel*, whom he had then not onely removed *jest at the*  
 from the Counsell, but also put into the Tower *Earle of*  
 of *London*, being (as is wel known) the first and *Arundell.*  
 chiefeft Earle of the Realme. And for that the  
 said Earle shewed him selfe somewhat sad and  
 afflicted with his present state (as I marvel not,  
 seeing himself in prison, and within the compasse  
 of so fierce a Beares paws) it pleased this good-  
 ly Duke to vaunt upon this Earles misery, at his  
 owne Table (as I have said) and asked the noble  
 men and gentlemen there present, what Crest  
 or Cognizance my L. of *Arundel* did give? and  
 when every one answered, that hee gave the  
 white horse: I thought so (quoth the Duke) and  
 not without great cause; for as the white Paul-  
 frey when he standeth in the stable, and is well  
 provendred, is proud and fierce, and ready to  
 leape on every other horses back, still neying,  
 and prauncing, and troubling all that stand a-  
 bout him : but when he is once out of his hor-  
 stable, and deprived a little of his ease and fat  
 feeding, every boy may ride and master him at  
 his pleasure : so is it (quoth he) with my Lord  
 of *Arundell*. Whereat many marvelled that  
 were present, to heare so insolent speech passe  
 from a man of judgement, against a Peere of  
 the Realme cast into calamity.

But you would more have marvelled (quoth Gentl.  
 the Gentleman) if you had scene that which I  
 did afterward, which was the most base and ab-  
 ject behaviour of the same Duke to the same  
 Earle

*The oft  
abieſt be-  
haviour of  
Duke Dud-  
ley in ad-  
uerſe for-  
tunes.*

Schollar.

*Leyceſters  
baſe be-  
haviour in ad-  
uerſitie.*

*Leyceſters  
deceiuing  
of ſir Chri-  
ſtopher  
Hatton.*

Earle of *Arundel* at *Cambridge*, and upon the way towards *London* : when this Earle was ſent to apprehend and bring him up, as priſoner. If I ſhould tell you how he fell down on his knees, how he wept, how he beſought the ſaid Earle to be a good Lord unto him, whom a little before he had ſo much contemned and reproached, you would have ſaid that himſelfe might as well be compared to this his white Paulfrey, as the other: Albeit in this I will excuſe neither of them both, neither almoſt any of theſe great men who are ſo proud and insolent in their prosperous fortune, as they are eaſily led to contemne any man, albeit themſelves bee moſt contemptible of all others, whenſoever their fortune be- ginneth to change : and ſo will my L. of *Lei- ceſter* be, alſo no doubt at that day, though now in his wealth he triumph over all, and careth not whom, or how many he offend and injure.

Sir, therein I beleeeve you (quoth I) for wee have had ſufficient tryall already of my Lords fortitude in aduerſity. His baſe and abieſt be- haviour in his laſt diſgrace about his marriage, well declared what hee would doe in a matter of more importance. His fawning and flatter- ing of them, whom he hated moſt : his ſervile ſpeeches, his feigned and diſſembled teares, are all very well knowne : Then Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton* muſt needs be enforced to receive at his hands the honourable and great office of Chamberlainſhip of *Cheſter*, for that he would by any meanes reigne the ſame unto him, whe- ther he would or no : and made him provide (not without his charge) to receive the ſame, though his Lordſhip never meant it, as after wel appeared. For that the preſent pange being paſt,



it liked my Lord to fulfill the Italian Proverbe  
of such as in dangers make vowes to Saints :  
*Scampato il pericolo, gabbato il santo*, the danger  
escaped, the Saint is deceived.

Then, and in that necessity, no men of the  
Realm were so much honoured, commended, &  
served by him as the noble Chamberlaine de-  
ceased, and the good Lord Treasurer yet living:  
to whom, at a certaine time, he wrote a letter  
in all fraud and base dissimulation, and caused  
the same to be delivered with great cunning in  
the sight of her Majesty; and yet so, as to shew  
a purpose that it should not be seen: to the end,  
her Highnesse might rather take occasion to call  
for the same and read it, as she did. For Mi-  
stris *Francis Haward* (to whom the stratagem  
was committed) playing her part dexterously,  
offered to deliver the same to the Lord Treas-  
urer, neare the doore of the withdrawing  
Chamber, he then comming from her Majesty:  
And to draw the eye and attention of her High-  
nesse the more unto it, shee let fall the paper,  
before it touched the treasurers hand, and by  
that occasion brought her Majesty to call for the  
same: Which after she had read and considered  
the stile, together with the metall and constitu-  
tion of him that wrote it, and to whom it was  
lent, her Highnesse could not but breake forth  
in laughter, with derestation of such absurd and  
abject dissimulation: saying unto my Lord  
Treasurer there present: my Lord believe him  
not, for if he had you in like case, he would play  
the Beare with you, though at this present hee  
fawne upon you never so fast.

*A pretie  
shift of my  
Lord of  
Leycester.*

*Her Maie-  
ties speech  
of Leyce-  
ster to the  
Treasurer.*

But now Sir, I pray you goe forward in your  
speech of *Scotland*, for there I remember you

L

left

left off, when by occasion we fell into these digressions.

Gentl.

*The danger of her Majesty by oppression of the fauourers of the Scottish title.*

Well then (quoth the Gentleman) to returne againe to *Scotland* (as you move) from whence wee have digressed: most certaine and evident it is to all the world, that all the broyles, troubles, and dangers procured to the Prince in that countrey, as also the vexations of them, who any way are thought to fauour that title in our owne Realme, doe proceed from the drift and complot of these conspirators. Which besides the great dangers mentioned before, both domesticall and forraine, temporall, and of religion, must needs inferre great jeopardy also to her Maiesties person and present reign, that now governeth, through the hope and heat of the aspirors ambition, inflamed and increased so much the more by the nearenesse of their desired prey.

*A Similitude true.*

For as souldiers entred into the hope of a rich and well furnished Citie, are more fierce and furious, when they have gotten and beaten downe the Bullwarks round about: and as the greedy Burglarer that hath pierced and broken downe many walls to come to a treasure, is lesse patient of stay, stop, and delay, when he commeth in sight of that which he desireth, or perceiveth only some partition of wane skot or the like betwixt his fingers, and the cofers or monie bags: so these men when they shall see the succession of *Scotland* extinguished, together with all friends and fauourers thereof, (which now are to her Majesty as Bullwarks and wals, and great obstacles to the aspirors) and when they shall see onely her Maiesties life and person, to stand betwixt them and their fierie desires (for they make

make little account of all other Competitors by King *Henries* line;) no doubt but it will bee to them a gre't prick and spurre to dispatch Her Majestie also: the nature of both Earles being well considered, whereof the one killed his own wife, (as hath been shewed before) onely upon a little vaine hope of marriage with a Queene, and the other being so farre blinded and borne away with the same furious fume, & most impotent itching humor of ambition, as his owne mother, when she was alive, seemed greatly to feare his fingers, if once the matter should come so neare, as her life had onely stood in his way. For which cause, the good old Countesse was wont to pray God (as I have heard divers say) that she might dye before her Majesty (which happily was granted unto her) to the end that by standing in her sonnes way (who she saw to her grief, furiously bent to weare a Crown:) there might not some dangerous extremity grow to her by that nearnesse: And if his owne mother feared this mischance, whst may her Majesty doubt at his, & his companions hands, when she onely shall be the obstacle of all their unbridled and impotent desires?

*Earle of  
Leycester.*

*Earle of  
Hunting-  
ton.*

*The old  
Countesse  
of Hun-  
tingtons  
speech of  
her sonne.*

Clearer it is (quoth the Lawyer) that the nearnesse of aspirors to the Crowne, endangereth greatly the present possessors, as you have well proved by reason, and I could shew by divers examples, if it were need. For when *Henric Bul- lingbrooke*, Duke of *Lancaster*, saw not onely *Richard* the second to be without issue, but also *Roger Mortimer*, Earle of *March*, that should have succeeded in the Crowne, to bee slaine in *Ireland*: though before (as is thought) he meant not to usurpe, yet seeing the possibility and

*Lawyer.  
Nearnesse  
in compe-  
titors doth  
incite them  
to adven-  
ture.*

*Henr. Bul-  
lingbrook  
after King  
H. the 4.*

Richard  
Duke of  
Gloucester  
after King  
Richard  
the third.

neare cut that he had, was invited therewith to lay hands of his Soveraignes blond and dignity as he did. The like is thought of *Richard*, Duke of *Glocester*, that he never meant the murther of his nephewes, untill he saw their father dead, and themselves in his owne hands ; his brother also Duke of *Clarence* dispatched, and his onely sonne and heire Earle of *Warwick* within his owne power.

The great  
wisdom  
of her Ma-  
jesty in con-  
serving the  
next heires  
of Scot-  
land.

Wherefore seeing that it hath not pleased Almighty God, for causes to himselfe best known, to leave unto this noble Realm, any issue by her most excellent Maiestie, it hath been a poynt of great wisdom in mine opinion, and of great safety to her Highnes person, state, & dignity, to preserve hitherto the line of the next Inheritors by the house of *Scotland*, ( I meane both the mother and the sonne ) whose deaths hath been so diligently sought by the other Competitors, and had beene long ere this atchieved, if her Majesties owne wisdom, and royall clemency (as is thought) had not placed speciall eye upon the conservation thereof, from time to time. Which Princely providence, so long as it shall endure, must needs be a great safety and fortress to her Majesty, not onely against the claimes, aides, or annoyance of forraine Princes, who wil not be so forward to advance strange titles, while so manifest heires remain at home, nor yet so willing ( in respect of policy ) to helpe that line to possession of the whole Island : but also against practices of domesticall aspirers (as you have shewed) in whose affairs no doubt but these two branches of *Scotland* are great bocks, as also speciall bulwarks to her Majesties life and person : seeing (as you say) these copartners make  
so

so little account of the other of that line, who should ensue by order of succession.

Marry yet of the two, I thinke the youth of *Scotland* be of much more importance for their purpose, to bee made away, both for that hee may have issue, and is like in time to be of more ability, for defence of his owne inheritance: as also for that he being once dispatched, his mother should soone ensue by one slight or other, which they would devise unwitting to her Majesty: albeit, I must needes confesse that her Highnesse hath used most singular prudence for prevention thereof, in placing her restraint with so noble, strong, and worthy a Peere of our Realme, as the Earle of *Shrewsburie* is, whose fidelity and constancy being nothing plyable to the others faction, giveth them little contentation. And for that cause the world seeth how many sundry and divers devices they have used, and do use dayly to slander and disgrace him, and thereby to pull from him his charge committed

*The K. of Scotland's destruction of more importance to the conspirators, then his mothers*

*The Earle of Salisburys disgraced by the competitors.*

To this the Gentleman answered nothing at all, but stood still musing with himselfe, as though hee had conceived some deep matter in his head: and after a little pause he began to say as followeth

I cannot truly but much marvaile, when I do compare some things of this time and government, with the doings of former Princes, Progenitors to her Majesty. Namely of *Henrie the 7.* and *Henrie the 8.* who had so vigilant an eye to the laterall line of King *Edward the 4.* by his brother of *Clarence*, as they thought it necessary, not only to prevent all evident dangers that might ensue that way, but even the possibilities of all perill: as may well appear by the execution of *Ed. Earl of Warwick* before named

*The vigilant eye that her Majesties ancestors had to the collateral line.*

*Persons  
executed  
of the house  
of Clarence*

Son and heire of the said Duke of *Clarence*, and of *Margaret* his sister Countesse of *Salisbury*, with the Lord *Henry Montague* her sonne, by whose Daughter the Earle of *Huntington* now claimeth. All which were executed for avoyding of inconveniencies, and that at such times, when no imminent danger could be much doubted by that Line, especially by the latter. And yet now when one of the same house and Line, of more ability and ambition, than ever any of his Ancestors were, maketh open title and claime to the Crowne, with plots, packs, and preparations to most manifest usurpation, against all order, all law, and all rightfull succession: and against a special statute provided in that behalfe: yet is he permitted, borne out, favoured, and friended therein: and no man so hardy, as in defence of her Majestie and the Realme to controule him for the same.

*The example of Iulius Cæsars destruction.*

It may be that her Majestie is brought into the same opinion of my Lord of *Huntington* fidelity, as *Iulius Cæsar* was of *Marcus Brutus*, his dearest obliged friend: of whose ambitious practices, and aspiring, when *Cæsar* was advertised by his carefull friends; he answered, that hee well knew *Brutus* to be ambitious, but I am sure (quoth he) that my *Brutus* will never attempt any thing for the Empire while *Cæsar* liveth: and after my death let him shift for the same among others, as he can. But what ensued? Surely I am loath to tell the event for ominations sake, but yet all the world knoweth that ere many moneths passed, this most noble and Clement Emperour was pittifully murdered by the same *Brutus* and his partneis in the publique Senate, when least of all he expected such

such treason. So dangerous a thing it is to be secure in a matter of so great sequell, or to trust them with a mans life, who may pretend preferment or interest by his death.

Wherefore, would God her Majestie in this case might be induced to have such due care and regard of her own estate and royall person, as the weighty moment of the matter requireth: which containeth the blisse and calamity of so noble and worthy a kingdome as this.

I know right well, that most excellent natures are alwayes furthest off from diffidence in such people as proves love, and are most bounden by dutie: and so it is evident in her Maiestie. But yet surely, this confidence so commendable in other men, is scarce allowable oftentimes in the person of a Prince: for that it goeth accompanied with so great perill, as is inevitable to him that will not suspect principally when dangers are foretold or presaged, (as commonly by Gods appoyntment they are, for the speciall hand he holdeth over Princes affaires) or when there is probable conjecture, or just surmise of the same.

We know that the forenamed Emperor *Cesar*, had not onely the warning given him of the inclination and intent of *Brutus* to usurpation, but even the very day when hee was going towards the place of his appoynted destiny, there was given up into his hands a detection of the whole treason, with request to read the same presently, which he upon confidence omitted to doe. Wee read also of *Alexander* the great, how hee was not onely forbidden by a learned man to enter into *Babylon* (whither he was then going) for that there was treason meant against him in the place, but also that he was foretold of *Antipaters* mis-

*Too much confidence verie perilous in a Prince.*

*The example of Alexander the great, how hee was foretold his danger.*



chievous meaning against him in particular. But the yong Prince having so well deserved of *Antipater*, could not be brought to mist ust the man that was so deare unto him : and by that means was poysoned in a banquet by three sons of *Antipater*, which were of most credit and confidence in the Kings Chamber.

Schollar.

Late executions.

Gentl.

Here, truly, my heatt did somewhat tremble with feare, horror, and detestation of such events. And I said unto the Gentleman : I beseech you Sir, to talke no more of these matters, for I cannot well abide to heare them named : hoping in the Lord that there is no cause, nor ever shall be, to doubt the like in *England* : especially from these men, who are so much bound to her Majesty, and so forward in seeking out, and pursuing all such as may be thought to be dangerous to her Majesties person, as by the sundry late executions wee have have seen, and by the punishments every way of Papists we may perceive.

Truth it is (quoth the Gentleman) that justice hath bin done upon divers of late, which contenteth me greatly, for the terrout and restraint of others, of what sect or religion soever they be : And it is most necessary (doubtles) for the compresing of parties, that great vigilance be used in that behalfe. But when I consider, that only one kind of men are touched herein : and that all speech, regard, doubt, distrust, and watch is of them alone, without reflection of eye upon other mens doings or designements : when I see the double diligence and vehemency of certaine instruments, which I like not, bent wholly to raise wonder and admiration of the people, feare, terrour, and attention to the doings, sayings, and meanings of one part or faction alone, and of that namely and only which these

these conspirators esteem for most dangerous and  
 opposite to themselves : I am (beleev me) often  
 tempted to suspect fraud and false measure : and  
 that these men deale, as wolves by nature in other  
 Countries are wont to do : Which going together  
 in great numbers to assaile a flocke of sheep by  
 night, doe set some one or two of their company  
 upon the wind side of the fold a far off, who par-  
 ly by their sent and other bruteling, which of pur-  
 pose they make, may draw the dogs and sheep-  
 heards to pursue them alone, whiles the other doe  
 enter and slay the whole flock. Or as rebels that  
 meaning to surprize a Towne, to turne away the  
 Inhabitants from considering of the danger, and  
 from defence of that place, where they intend to  
 enter, doe set on fire some other parts of the  
 Towne further off, and doe sound a false alarme  
 at some gate, where is meant least danger.

Which art was used cunningly by *Richard D. Richard*  
 of *Yorke* in the time of King *Henrie the sixt*, *Duke of*  
 when he to cover his owne intent, brought all the *Yorke*.  
 Realme in doubt of the doings of *Edmond Duke*  
 of *Somerfer*, his enemy. But *Iohn of Northumber-* *D. Dudley.*  
*land*, father to my Lord of *Leycester*, used the  
 same art much more skilfully, when hee put all  
*England* in a maze and musing of the Protector,  
 and of his friends : as though nothing could be  
 safe about the yong King, untill they were sup-  
 pressed : and consequently, all brought into his  
 owne authority, without obstacle. I speake not  
 this to excuse Papists, or to wish them any way  
 spared wherein they offend : but onely to signifie  
 that in a Countrey, where so potent factions bee,  
 it is not safe, to suffer the one to make it selfe so  
 puissant by pursuit of the other : as afterwards  
 the Prince must remaine at the devotion of the  
 stronger :

*Fraud to  
 be feared  
 in pursuing  
 one part or  
 faction on-  
 ly.  
 The com-  
 parison of  
 Wolves  
 and Rebels.*

*A good rule  
 of policy.*

stronger : but rather as in a body molested and troubled with contrarie humours, if all cannot be purged, the best Physick is without all doubt to reduce and hold them at such an equality, as destruction may not be feared of the predominant.

To this said the Lawyer laughing, yea marry Sir, I would to God your opinion might prevaile in this matter ; for then should wee bee in other tearmes then now we are. I was, not long since, in company of a certaine honourable Lady of the Court, who, after some speech passed by Gentlemen that were present, of some apprehended, and some executed, and such like affaires, brake into a great complaint of the present time, and therewith (I assure you) moved all the hearers to griefe (as women you know are potent in stirring of affections) and caused them all to wish that her Majesty had beene nigh to have heard her words.

*The speech  
of a certain  
Lady of the  
Court.*

I doe well remember (quoth she) the first dozen yeares of her Highnesse reigne, how happy, pleasant and quiet they were, with all manner of comfort and consolation. There was no mention then of factions in religion, neither was any man much noted or rejected for that cause : so otherwise his conversation were civill and courteous. No suspicion of treason, no talke of bloudshed, no complaint of troubles, miseries, or vexations, All was peace, all was love, all was joy, all was delight. Her Majestie (I am sure) took more Recreation at that time in one day, than shee doth now in a whole week : and wee that served her Highnesse, enjoyed more contentation in a weeke, than we can now in divers yeares. For now, there are so many suspicions every where, for this thing, and for that, as we cannot tell whom to trust. So many melancholick in the Court, that seem male-

contenten-

contented, so many complayning or suing for their friends that are in trouble: others slip over the Sea, or retire themselves upon the suddaine: so many tales brought us of this or that danger, of this man suspected, of that man sent for up, and such like unpleasant, and unfavorie stuffe; as we can never almost bee merry one whole day together.

Wherefore (quoth this Lady) wee that are of her Majesties traine and speciall service, and doe not onely feele these things in our selves, but much more in the grief of her most excellent Majesty whom we see dayly molested herewith (being one of the best natures, I am sure, that ever noble Princeesse was endued withall:) wee cannot but mone, to behold contentions advanced so far forth as they are: and we could wish most heartily that for the time to come these matters might passe with such peace, friendship, and tranquillity, as they doe in other Countreyes, where difference in religion breaketh not the band of good fellowship, or fidelity. And with this in a smiling manner she brake off, asking pardon of the company, if she had spoken her opinion over boldly, like a woman.

*More moderation wished in matters of faction.*

To whom answered a Courtier that sate next *The speech* her: Madame, your Ladiship hath said nothing in *of a Courtier.* this behalfe, that is not dayly debated amongst us, in our common speech in Court as you know. Your desire also herein is a publick desire, if it might be brought to passe: for there is no man so simple, that seeth not how perilous these contentions and divisions among us may bee in the end. And I have heard divers Gentlemen that be learned, discourse at large upon this argument: alleaging old examples of the *Athenians, Lacedemonians,*

*The perill of diuisions & factions in a Commonwealth* **demonians, Carthigenians, and Romans**, who received notable dammages, and destruction also in the end, by their diuisions and factions among themselves, and specially from them of their own Cities and Countries, who upon factions lived abroad with Forrainers: and thereby were always as fire-brands, to carry home the flame of Warre upon their Countrey.

The like they also shewed by the long experience of all the great Cities and States of *Italy*: which by their factions and forucites, were in continuall gar-boyle, bloud-shed and miserie. Whereof our owne countrey hath also tasted her part, by the odious contention between the houses of *Lancaster* and *Yorke*: wherein it is marvailous to consider, what trouble a few men oftentimes, departing out of the Realme, were able to worke by the part of their faction remaining at home (which commonly encreaseth toward them that are absent) & by the readines of forrain Princes, to receive alwayes, and comfort such as are discontented in another state: to the end, that by their meanes, they might hold an Ore in their neighbours boat: Which Princes that are nigh borderers, doe alwayes above all other things most covet and desire.

*The dangerous sequell of dissention in our Realme.*

This was that Courtiers speech and reason, whereby I perceived, that aswell among them in Court, as among us in the Realme and Country abroad, the present inconvenience and dangerous sequell of this our home dissention, is espyed, and consequently most English hearts inclined to wish the remedy or prevention thereof, by some reasonable moderation, or re-union among our selves. For that the prosecution of these differences to extremitie, cannot but after many wounds  
and

and exulcerations bring matters finally to rage, fury, and most deadly desperation.

Whereas on the other side, if any sweet qualification, or small tolleration among us were admitted: there is no doubt, but that affaires would passe in our Realme with more quietnesse, safety and publike weale of the same, then it is like it will doe long: and men would easily be brought, that have English bowells, to joyne in the preservation of their Countrey from ruine, bloudshed, and forraine oppression, which desperation of factions is wont to procure.

I am of your opinion (quoth the Gentleman) in that, for I have seene the experience thereof, and all the world beholdeth the same at this day,

in all the Countries of *Germanie, Polonia, Bæmland, and Hungarie*: where a little bearing of the one with the other, hath wrought them much ease, and continued them a peace, whereof all *Europe* besides hath admiration and envie. The first

12 years also of her Majesties reign, whereof your Lady of the Court discoursed of before, can well bee a witnesse of the same: wherein the commiseration and lenity that was used towards those of the weaker sort, with a certaine sweet diligence for their gaining, by good means was the cause of much peace, contentation, and other benefit to the whole body.

Wee see in *France*, that by over much pressing of one part onely, a fire was inkindled not many yeares since, like to have consumed and destroyed the whole: had not a necessary mollification been thought upon by the wisest of that Kings Councell full contrary to the will and inclination of some great personages, who meant perhaps to have gained more by the other:

Gentl.

*Examples of tolleration in matters of religion.*

*Germany.*

*The breach & reunion again in France.*

and

and since that time we see what peace, wealth, and re-union hath ensued in that Country that was so broken, dissevered, and wasted before. And all this, by yeelding a litle in that thing, which no force can master, but exulcerate rather, and make worse: I meane the conscience and judgement of men in matters of Religion.

*Flanders.*

The like also I could name you in *Flanders*, where after all these broyles and miseries of so many yeares warres (caused principally by too much streyning in such affaires at the beginning) albeit the King bee never so strict-laced, in yeelding to publike liberty, and free exercise on both parts: yet is he descended to this at length (and that upon force of reason) to abstaine from the pursuit and search of mens consciences, not only in the townes, which upon composition hee receiveth, but also where he hath recovered by force, as in *Torrey*, and other places: where I am informed that no man is searched, demanded, or molested for his opinion or conscience, nor any act of Papistry or contrary religion required at their hands, but are permitted to live quietly to God and themselves, at home in their owne houses: so they performe otherwise their outward obedience and duties to their Prince and Countrey. Which only qualification, tollerance, and moderation in our Realme (if I bee not deceived, with many more that be of my opinion) would content all divisions, factions, and parties among us, for their continuance in peace: bee they Papists, Puritans, Familiars: or of whatsoever nice difference or section besides, and would be sufficient to retaine all parties within a temperate obedience to the Magistrate and government, for conservation of their Countrey: which were of no small importance



tance to the contentation of her Majesty, and the weale publick of the whole kingdome.

But what should I talke of this thing which is so contrary to the desires and designements of our puissant Conspirators? What should *Cicero* the Senator use perswasions to Capitaine *Cateline*, and his crew, that quietnesse and order were better than hurliburlies? Is it possible that our aspirors will ever permit any such thing, cause, or matter, to be treated in our state, as may tend to the stability of her Majesties present government? No surely, it standeth nothing with their wisdom or policy, especially at this instant, when they have such opportunity of following their owne actions in Her Majesties name, under the vizard and pretext of her defence and safety: having sowed in every mans head so many imaginations of the dangers present both abroad and at home: from *Scotland*, *Flanders*, *Spaine*, and *Ireland*: so man conspiracies, so many intended murthers, and others so many contrived or conceived mischiefes: as my Lord of *Leicester* assureth himselfe that the troubled water cannot be cleared againe in short space, nor his baits and lines laid therein, easily espyed: but rather, that hereby, ere long, he will catch the fish he gapeth so greedily after: and in the meane time, for the pursuit of these crimes, and other that he dayly will finde out, himselfe must remaine perpetuall Dictator.

But what meaneth this so much inculcating of troubles, treasons, murthers, and invasions? I like not surely these ominous speeches. And as I am out of doubte, that *Leicester* the caster of these shadowes, doth look to play his part first in these troublesome affaires: so doe I heartily feare, that unlessse

*Moderation impugned by the conspira. Cicero. Cateline.*

*The Conspirators opportunistic.*

unlesse the tyranny of this *Leiceſtrian* fury bee speedily ſtopped, that ſuch miſerie to Prince and people (which the Lord for his mercies ſake turne from us) as never greater fell before to our miſerable Countrey, is far nearer hand than is expected or ſuſpected.

*Leyceſter  
to be called  
to account.*

And therefore for the prevention of theſe calamities, to tell you plainly mine opinion (good Sirs) and therewith to draw to an end of this our conference (for it waxeth late:) I would thinke it the moſt neceſſarie poynt of all for her Maieſty to call his Lordſhip to account among other, and to ſee what other men could ſay againſt him, at length, after ſo many yeares of his ſole accusing, and purſuing of others. I know, and am very well aſſured, that no one act which her Maieſtie hath done ſince her comming to the Crowne (as ſhee hath done right many moſt highly to be commended) nor any that lightly her Maieſty may doe hereafter, can be of more utility to Her ſelfe, and to the Realme, or, more gratefull to her faithfull and zealous ſubjects than this noble act of Juſtice would be, for tryall of this mans deſerts towards his Countrey.

I ſay it would be profitable to her Maieſty, and to the Realme, not onely in reſpect of the many dangers before mentioned, hereby to be avoyded, which are like to enſue moſt certainly, if his courſes bee ſtill permitted: but alſo for that her Maieſty ſhall by this, deliver Her ſelfe from that generall grudge and griefe of mind, with great diſlike, which many ſubjects, otherwiſe moſt faithfull, have conceived againſt the exceſſive favour ſhewed to this man ſo many yeares, without deſert or reaſon. Which favour he having uſed to the hurt, annoyance, and oppreſſion both of infinite ſeverall

severall persons, and the whole common-wealth  
(as hath bin said:) the griefe and resentment  
thereof, doth redound commonly in such cases  
not only upon the person delinquent alone, but  
also upon the Soveraigne, by whose favour & au-  
thority he offers such iniuries, though never so  
much against the others intē, d. fire. or meaning.

And hereof we have examples of sundry Prin-  
ces, in all ages and Countries, whose exorbitant  
favour to some wicked subiect that abused the  
same, hath bin the cause of great danger and ru-  
ine; the sins of the favourite being returned and  
revenged upon the favourer. As in the Historie  
of the *Grecians* is declared, by occasion of the  
pittifull murder of that wise and victorious P.

*Philip of Macedony*, who albeit, that he were  
well assured to have given no offence of himself  
to any of his subiects, & consequently feared no-  
thing, but conversed openly and confidently a-  
mong them: yet, for that hee had favoured too  
much one *Luke Attalus*, a proud and insolent  
Courtier, and had born him out in certain of his  
wickednes, or at least not punished the same af-  
ter it was detected and complained upon: the  
parties grieved accounting the crime more pro-  
per: and heinous on the part of him, who by  
office should do iustice, & protect other, than of  
the perpetrator, who followeth his own passi-  
on and sensuality, let pass *Attalus*, & made their  
revenge upon the bloud & life of the K himself,  
by one *Pausanias*, suborned for that purpose, in  
the marriage day of the Kings owne daughter.

*The death  
K Philip  
of Mace-  
donie, and  
cause there  
of.*

Great store of like examples may be repeated,  
out of the stories of other countries, nothing be-  
ing more usuall or frequent among all nations,  
than the afflictions of realms and kingdoms, and

*Pausanias.*

the overthrow of Princes and great Potentates themselves, by their too much affection towards some unworthy particular persons : a thing indeed so common and ordinary, as it may well seem to be the speciall Rock of all other, whereat Kings & Princes doe make their shipwracks,

*Kings of  
Englando-  
verthrowen  
by too much  
favouring  
of some  
particular  
men.*

K. Edw. 2.

K. Rich. 2.

K. Henr. 6.

For if we look into the states and Monarchies all Christendome, and consider the ruines that have bin of any Princes or Ruler within the same : we shall find this poynt to have bin a great and principall part of the cause thereof : and in our owne state and countrey, the matter is too evident. For whereas since the Conquest we number principally, three just and lawfull Kings, to have come to confusion, by alienation of their subjects : that is, *Edward the second, Rich. the second, and Henrie the first* : this only point of too much favour towards wicked persons, was the chiefest cause of destruction in all three. As in the first, the excessive favour towards *Peter Gaveston*, and two of the *Spencers*. In the second, the like extraordinarie, and indiscreet affection towards *Robert Vere*, Eurl of *Oxford*, and Marquesse of *Dublin*, and *Thomas Mowbray*, two most turbulent and wicked men, that set the K. against his own Vncles & the nobility. In the third (being a simple and holy man) albeit no great exorbitant affection was seene towards any, yet his wife *Queen Margarets* too much favour and credit (by him not controled, towards the Marquesse of *Suffolke*, that after was made Duke, by whose instinct and wicked Counsell, she made away first the noble Duke of *Gloucester*, and afterward committed other things in great prejudice of the Realme, and suffered the said most impious and

sinful

sinfull Duke to range and make havock of all  
 sort of subjects at his pleasure (much after the  
 fashion of the Earle of *Leicester* now, though  
 yet not in so high and extreame a degree: (this I  
 say was the principall and originall cause, both  
 before God and man, (as *Polidore* well noteth) *Pol. lib. 23*  
 of all the calamity and extreme desolation, *hist. Angl.*  
 which after ensued both to the King, Queene,  
 and their onely child, with the utter extirpation  
 of their family.

And so likewise now to speak in our particu-  
 lar case, if there be any grudge or griefe at this  
 day, any mislike, repining, complaint or mur-  
 mure against her Majesties government, in the  
 hearts of her true and faithfull subjects, who  
 wish amendment of that which is amisse, and  
 not the overthrow of that which is well: (as I  
 trow it were no wisdom to imagine there  
 were none at all:) I dare avouch upon Consci-  
 ence, that either all, or the greatest part there-  
 of, proceedeth from this man; who by the fa-  
 vor of her Majesty so afflicteth her people as ne-  
 ver did before him, either *Gaveston*, *Spencer*, *Vere*,  
 or *Mowbray* or any other mischievous tirant, that  
 abused most his Princes favour within our  
 Realme of *England* Whereby it is evident how  
 profitable a thing it should bee to the whole  
 Realme, how honourable to her Majesty, and  
 how gratefull to all her subjects, if this man at  
 length might be called to his account.

Su (quoth the Lawyer) you alleage great rea- *Lawyer.*  
 son, and verily I am of opinion, that if her Ma-  
 jesty knew but the tenth part of this, which you  
 have here spoken, as also her good subjects de-  
 sires and complaint in this behalfe: she would  
 well shew, that her Highnesse feareth not to

permit iustice to passe upon *Leicester*, or any other within her Realme, for satisfaction of her people, whatsoever some men may think and report to the contrary, or howsoever otherwise of her owne milde disposition towards the person, she have borne with him hitherto. For so we see that wise Princes can doe at times convenient, for peace and tranquillity, and publike weale : though contrary to their owne particular and peculiar inclination.

The punishment of  
William  
Duke of  
Suffolk.

As to goe no further then to the last example named and alleaged by your selfe before: though *Queen Margaret* the wife of *K. Henrie* the sixt, had favoured most unfortunately many yeares together, *William Duke of Suffolk* (as hath bin said) whereby he committed manifold outrages, and afflicted the Realme by sundry meanes : yet she being a woman of great prudence, when she saw the whole Communalry demand justice upon him for his demerits, albeit she liked and loved the man still : yet for satisfaction of the people, upon so generall a complaint, shee was content first to commit him to prison, and afterward to banish him the Realme : but the providence of God would not permit him so to escape : for that he being incountred and taken upon the sea in his passage, he was beheaded in the ship, and so received some part of condign punishment for his most wicked, loose, and licentious life.

And to seeke no more examples in this case, & we know into what favour and special grace *Sir Edmond Dudley*, my Lord of *Leycesters* good Grandfather was crept, with King *Henry* the seventh, in the latter end of his reigne : and what intollerable wickednesse and mischief he wrought.

thought against the whole Realme, and against infinite particular persons of the same, by the polings and oppressions which hee practised: whereby though the King received great temporall commodity at that time, (as her Majesty doth nothing at all by the present extortions of this Nephew:) yet for justice sake, and for meere compassion towards his afflicted subiects, that complained grievously of this iniquity: that most vertuous and wise Prince King Henrie was content to put from him this lewd instrument, and devillish suggestor of new exactions: whom his sonne Henrie that ensued in the Crown, caused presently before all other busines, to be called publickly to account, and for his deserts to leese his head: So as where the interest of a whole Realme, or common cause of many, taketh place: the private favour of any one cannot stay a wise & godly Prince, (such as al the world knoweth her Maiesty to be) from permitting iustice to have her free passage.

*The punishment of Edmond Dudley.*

Truely it should not (quoth the Gentleman) for to that end were Princes first elected, and upon that consideration doe subiects both pay them tribute and obedience; to bee defended by them from iniuries and oppressions, and to see lawes executed, and iustice exercised, upon and towards all men with indifferency. And as for our particular case of my Lord of Leicester, I doe not see in right and equity how her Maiesty may deny this lawfull desire and petition of her people. For if her highnesse doe permit and command the Lawes dayly to passe upon thieves and murderers without exception, and that for one fact onely, as by experience we see; how then can it be denied in this man,

*Gentl. The causes why Princes are chosen, and do receive obedience.*



who in both kinds hath committed more enormous acts, then may be well recounted.

Leycesters  
Thefts.

As in the first, of theft, not onely by spoyling and oppressing almost infinite private men: but also whole Towns, Villages, Corporations, and Countries, by robbing the Realme with inordinate licences, by deceiving the Crown with racking, changing and imbezeling the Lands, by abusing his Prince and Sovereigne in telling his favour both at home and abroad: with taking bribes for matter of justice, grace, request, supplication, or whatsoever sute else may depend upon the Court, or of the Princes authority: with setting at sale, and making open market of whatsoever her Majesty can give, doe, or procure, be it spirituall or temporall. In which sort of traffick he committeth more theft oftentimes in one day than all the way-keepers, cut-purses, counsellers, pirates, burglars, or other of that art in a whole yeare, within the Realme

Leycesters  
murders.

And as for the second, which is murther, you have heard before somewhat said and proved: but yet nothing to that which is thought to have bin in secret committed upon divers occasions at divers times, in sundry persons, of different calling in both sexes, by most variable means of killing, poysoning, charming, inchanting, conjuring, and the like, according to the diversity of men, places, opportunities, and instruments for the same. By all which meanes, I think he hath more blood lying upon his head at this day, crying vengeance against him at Gods hands, & her Majesty, than ever had private man in our Country before, were he never so wicked.

Wherefore now, if we adde his other good behaviour, as his intollerable licentiousnesse in all filthy kinds

kind and manner of carnality, with all sort of A heap of  
 Wives, Friends, and Kinswomen: if wee add his Leycesters  
 iniuries and dishonours, done hereby to infinite: if enormities  
 we adde his treasons, treacheries, and conspiracies that would  
 about the Crowne; his disloyall behaviour, and ha- be ready at  
 tred against her Majesty, his ordinarie lying, and the day of  
 common perjuring himselfe in all matters for his his triall.  
 gain, both great and smal; his rapes and most vio-  
 lent extortions upon the poore; his abusing of the  
 Parliament and other places of justice, with the  
 Nobility and whole Communalty besides; if we add  
 also his open injuries which hee offereth daily to  
 Religion, and the Minister: thereof, by turning  
 them, and turning all to his owne gaine; together  
 with his manifest and known tyranny practised to-  
 wards all estates abroad, throuhout all Shires of  
 the kingdome; his dispoysing of both the Univer-  
 sities, and discouraging of infinite notable wits  
 there, from seeking perfection of knowledge and  
 learning, (which otherwise were like to become  
 notable) especially in Godsword (which giveth life  
 unto the soule,) by defrauding them of the price  
 and reward proposed for their travail in that kind,  
 through his insatiable Simoniackall contracts: if I  
 say, we should lay together all these enormities be-  
 fore her Majesty, and thousands more in particu-  
 lar, which might and would be gathered, if his day  
 of his triall were but in hope to be granted. I do not  
 see in equity and reason, how her Highnesse sitting  
 in throne, and at the royall sterne, as shee doth,  
 could denie her Subiects this most lawfull request;  
 considering, that every one of these crimes apart,  
 requireth justice of his owne nature; and much  
 more all together ought to obtaine the same, at the  
 hands of any good and godly Magistrate in the  
 World.

Schollar.  
*Her Ma-  
 jesties ten-  
 der heart  
 towards  
 the realme.*

No doubt (quoth I but that these considera-  
 tions must needs weigh much with any zealous  
 Prince and much more with her most excellent  
 Majesty whose tender heart towards her Realm  
 and Subjects, is very well known of all men. It  
 is not to be thought also but that her Highnesse  
 hath intelligence of divers of these matters al-  
 leaged, though not perhaps of all. But what  
 would you have her Majesty to doe? perhaps the  
 consultation of this affaire, is not, what were  
 convenient, but what is expedient: nor, what  
 ought to bee done in justice, but what may bee  
 done in safety. You have described my Lord be-  
 fore to be a great man, strongly furnished and  
 fortified for all events. What if it be not secure to  
 bark at the Bear that is so wel britched? I speak  
 unto you, but that which I heare in *Cambr dge*  
 and other places where I have passed: where e-  
 very mans opinion is, that her Majesty standeth  
 not in free choise to doe what her selfe best li-  
 keth in that case, at this day.

Gentl.  
*Leycesters  
 desire that  
 men should  
 thinke her  
 Majesty  
 to stand in  
 feare of  
 him.*

I know (said the Gentleman) that *Leicesters*  
 friends give it out every where, that her Majesty  
 now, is their good Lords prisoner, and that shee  
 either will or must be directed by him for the  
 time to come, except she will do worse: Which  
 thing his Lordship is well contented should bee  
 spread abroad, and believed for two causes: the  
 one to hold the people thereby more in awe of  
 himself, than of their Sovereign: and secondly to  
 draw her Majesty indeed by degrees to fear him.  
 For considering with himselfe what hee hath  
 done: and that it is impossible in truth that ever  
 her Majesty should love him again, or trust him  
 after so many treacheries as he well knoweth are  
 come to her Highnes understanding; he thinketh  
 that

that he hath no way of sure standing, but by terror and opinion of his puissance and greatnesse; wherby he would hold her Majesty and the Realme in thraldome, as his father did in his time before him. And then, for that he wel remembreth the true saying, *Malus custos diuturnitatis, metus*: he must provide shortly, that those which feare him, be not able to hurt him: and consequently you know what must follow, by the example of K. *Edward*, who feared Duke *Dudley* extreanly for that he had cut off his two Vncles heads; and the Duke took order that he should never live to revenge the same. For it is a setled rule of *Machiavel*, which the *Dudlies* doe observe: *That when you have once done a great injury, there must you never forgive.*

*Cicero in Officio.*

*A rule of Machiavell observed by the Dudlies*

But I will tell you (my friends) and I will tell you no ūruth, for that I know what I speak herein, and am privie to the state of my Lord in this behalfe, and of mens opinions and affections towards him within the Realme. Most certaine it is, that hee is strong by the present favour of the Prince (as hath bin shewed before) in respect wherof, he is admitted also as chief patron of the *Huntington* faction, though neither loved, nor greatly trusted of the same: but let her Majesty once turn her countenance aside from him in good earnest, and speak but the word only, *that iustice shall take place against him*; and I will undertake with gaging of both my life and little lands that God hath given me, that without stir or trouble, or any danger in the world, the Beare shall be taken to her Majesties hand, and fast chained to a stake, with mouzell, cord, collar, and ring, and all other things necessary: so that her Majesty shal bait him at her pleasure, without all danger of byting, breaking loose, or any other inconvenience whatsoever.

*Leycester strong onely by her Majesties favour.*

*An offer made for taking and tying the Beare.*

For

*Leicester  
what hee  
receiveth  
from his  
ancestors.*

For (Sirs) you must not think, that this man holdeth any thing abroad in the Realme but by violence, and that onely upon her Majesties favour and countenance towards him. He hath not any thing of his owne, either from his ancestors, or of himselfe, to stay upon, in mens hearts or conceits: he hath not ancient Nobility, as other of our realm have, wherby mens affections are greatly moved. His father *John Dudley* was the first noble of his line; who raised and made himselfe big by supplanting of other, and by setting debate among the Nobilitie: as also his grandfather *Edmond*, a most wicked Promoter, and wretched Petifogger, enriched himselfe by other mens ruines: both of them condemned Traitors, though different in quality, the one being a counsener, and the other a tyrant, and both of their vices conjoyned, collected, and comprised (with many more additions) in this man (or beast rather) which is *Robert*, the third of their kin and kind. So that from his ancestors, this Lord receiveth neither honour nor honesty, but onely succession of treason and infamy.

*The comparison of  
Leicester  
with his  
father.*

And yet in himselfe hath he much lesse of good, wherewith to procure himselfe love or credit among men, than these ancestors of his had; hee being a man wholly abandoned of humane vertue, and devoted to wickednes, which maketh men credible both to God and man. In his father (no doubt) there were to be seen many excellent good parts, if they had been joyned with faith, honesty, moderation and loyalty. For all the world knoweth that he was very wise, valiant, magnanimous, liberrall, and assured friendly where he once promised: of all which vertues my Lord his son hath neither shew nor shadow, but onely a certaine false repre-

representation of the first, being craftie and subtle to deceive, and ingenious to wickednesse. For as for valour, he hath as much as hath a mouse: his magnanimity is base sordidity: his liberality rapine: his friendship plaine fraud, holding onely for his gaine, and no otherwise, though it were bound with a thousand oathes, of which he maketh as great account, as hens doe of cackling, but onely for his commoditie: using them specially and in greatest number, when most he meaneth to deceive. Namely, if he sweare solemnly by his *George*, or by the eternall God, then be sure it is a false lye: for these are observations in the Court: and sometimes in his owne lodging; in like case his manner is to take up and sweare by the Bible, whereby a Gentleman of good account, and one that seemeth to follow him, (as many do that like him but a little) protested to me of his knowledge, that in a very short space, hee observed him wittingly and willingly to be forsworn sixteen times.

This man therefore so contemptible by his ancestors, so odible of himselfe, so plunged, overwhelmed and defamed in all vice, so envied in the Court, so detested in the Country, and not trusted of his owne and dearest friends, nay (which I am privie to) so disliked and hated of his owne servants about him, for his beastly life, nigardy, and Atheisme (being never seene yet to say one private prayer within his chamber in his life) as they desire nothing in this world so much as his ruine, and that they may be the first, to lay hands upon him for revenge. This man (I say) so broken both within & without, is it possible that her Majesty and her wise Councell should feare? I can never believe it, or if it be so, it is Gods permission without all cause, for punishment of our sins: for that

*The weaknesse of  
Leycester  
if her Majesty  
turne  
but her  
countenance  
from him.*

that this man, if he once perceive indeed that they feare him, will handle them accordingly, and play the Beare indeed: which inconvenience I hope they will have care to prevent, and so I leave it to God, and them, craving pardon of my Lord of *Leicester* for my boldnes, if I have been too plain with him. And so I pray you let us goe to supper, for I see my seruant expecting yonder at the Gallery doore to call us downe.

**Lawyer.**  
*The end  
and departure  
from  
the Gallerie.*

To that, said the Lawyer, I am content with all my heart; and I would it had beene sooner, for that I am afraid, lest any by chance have overheard us here since night. For my owne part, I must say, that I have not been at such a conference this seven years, nor meane to bee hereafter, if I may escape well with this; whereof I am sure I shall dreame this fortnight, and thinke oftner of my Lord of *Leicester*, than ever I had intended: God amend him and me both. But if ever I heare at other hands of these matters hereafter, I shall surely be quake brich, and thinke every bush a theefe. And with that, came up the Mistris of the house to fetch us down to supper, and so all was hush, saving that at supper a gentleman or two began again to speak of my Lord, and that so conformable to some of our former speech (as indeed it is the common talke at tables every where) that the old Lawyer began to shrink and be appaled, and to cast dry looks upon the Gentleman our friend, doubting lest something had been discovered of our conference. But indeed it was not so.



Pia et utilis Meditatio, desumpta  
ex libro Iobi, Cap. 20.

**H**oc scio a principio, ex quo positus est homo super terram, quod laus impiorum brevis sit, et gaudium hypocritæ ad instar puncti. Si ascenderit usque ad cælum superbia ejus, et caput ejus nubes tetigerit: quasi sterquilinum in fine perdetur, et qui eum viderant, dicent ubi est? velut somnium avolans non invenietur, transiet sicut visio nocturna. Oculi qui eum viderant, non videbit, neque ultra intuebitur eum locus suus. Filii ejus atterentur egestate, et manus illius reddebunt ei labor in suum. Officia ejus implebuntur vitis adolescentiæ ejus, et cum eo in pulvere dormient. Panis ejus in utero illius vertetur in fel aspidum intrinsecus. Divitias quas devoravit, eromet, et de ventre illius extrahet eas Deus. Caput aspidum surget, et occidet eum lingua vipræ. Luctus quem fecit omnia, nec tamen consumetur. Iuxta multitudinem adinventio- num suarum, sic et suffocabit. Quoniam cōstringens nudabit pauperes: domum rapuit, et non edificavit eam, nec est satiatus venter ejus, et cum habuerit quæ concupierit possidere non poterit. Non remanet de cibo ejus, et propterea non permanebit de bonis ejus. Cū satiatus fuerit, ardebitur, aestuabit, et omnis dolor irruet super eum. Utinam impleatur venter ejus, ut immitat in eum (Deus) ira furoris sui, et pluat super illum bellum suum. Fugiet arma ferrea, et irruet in arcum æreum. Gladius eaductus et egrediens de vagina sua, et fulgurans in amaritudine sua: Omnes tenebræ abscondite sunt in occultis ejus. Devorabit eum ignis qui non succenditur, affligetur relictus in tabernaculo suo. Apertum erit germen domus illius, detrahetur in die furoris dei. Hæc est pars hominis impii, a deo, et hæreditas verborum ejus a domino.



*A Godly and profitable Meditation,  
taken out of the 20. Chapter of  
the Booke of Job.*

*The wio-  
ked mans  
pomp.*

*His joy.  
His pride.  
His fall.*

*His chil-  
dren.  
His old age  
His bread.*

*His resti-  
tution.*

*His punish-  
ment.*

*His wic-  
kednesse.*

**T**HIS I know from the first, that man was pla-  
ced upon earth, that the praise ( or applause)  
given to wicked men , endureth but a little, and  
the joy of an hypocrite is but for a moment.  
Though his pride were so great as to mount to  
heaven, and his head should touch the skyes , yet  
in the end shall hee come to perdition as a dung-  
hill, and they who beheld him (in glory before)  
shall say, where is he ? he shall be found as a fly-  
ing dreame, and as a phantasie by night shall fade  
away. The eye that beheld him before, shall no  
more see him, nor yet shall his place (of honour)  
ever more behold him. His children shall be worn  
out with beggerie, and his owne hands shall re-  
turne upon him his sorrow. His (old) bones shal  
be replenished with the vices of his youth , and  
they shall sleep with him in his grave. His bread  
in his belly shal be turned inwardly into the gaulle  
of Serpents. The riches which hee hath devoured  
he shall vomit forth againe, and God shall pull  
them forth of his belly. He shall suck the head of  
Cocatrice, and the (venemous) tongues of adders  
shall slay him. He shall sustaine due punishment  
for all the wickednes that he hath committed, nor  
yet shall he have end or consummation thereof.  
Hee shall suffer according to the multitude of all  
his wicked inventions. For that by violence hee  
hath spoyled the poore, made havock of his house,  
and

and not builded the same. His womb's never satisfied, & yet when he hath that which he desired, he shall not bee able to possesse the same. There remaineth no part of his meat (for the poore:) and therefore there shall remaine nothing of his goods. When his belly is full then shall he begin *His griefe.* to be straitned, then shall he sweate, and all kinde of sorrow shall rush upon him. I would his belly were once full, that God might send out upon *His affliction.* him the rage of his fury, and raine upon him his war. He shall flye away from Iron weapons, and run upon a bow of brasie. A drawne sword coming out of his skabard shall flash as lightning in his bitternesse. All darknesse lye hidden for *His damnation.* him in secret: the fire that needeth no kindling shall devoure him, and hee shall be tormented alone in his tabernacle. The off-spring of his house shall be made open, and pulled down, *His posterity.* in the day of Gods fury. This is the portion of a wicked man from God, and this is the inheritance of his substance from the Lord.

FINIS.

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# LEICESTER'S GHOST.

**J** That sometimes shin'd like the orient sunne,  
 Though Fortunes subject, yet a puissant Lord,  
 Am now an object to be gaz'd upon,  
 An object rather fit to be deplor'd  
 Dejected now that whilome was ador'd :  
 Affected once, suspected since of many  
 Rejected now, respected scarce of any.  
 My spirit hovering in the foggy aire  
 Since it did passe the frozen Stygian flood,  
 Vnto great *Brittaines* Empire did repaire,  
 Where of *ELIZA's* death I understood,  
 And that the heavens carefull of Englands good  
 Rais'd up a King, who crowned with loves peace  
 Brought in new loyes & made old griefes to cease.  
 Thus from the concave vaults of starrsle night  
 Where never sunne nor moone vouchsafes to shine ;  
 My wretched Ghost at length is come to light  
 By charter granted from the powers divine  
 Snake-eating envie, ô doe not repine  
 At honours-shadow, doe not bite the dead  
 My pride is past, my pompe from th'e earth is fled.  
 My Princely birth, my high enobled state  
 My sometime-dreadfull frownes now none regard ;  
 My great good-turnes to many done of late  
 With gratefull hearts, now few or none reward  
 My fame is blotted out, my honour tear'd ;  
 My monuments defaced, my reliques torne  
 Yea, vassalles doe my Excellency scorn.

Then *Jupiter* was in my *Horoscope*  
 And *Cynthia* blest me with her faire aspect,  
 What might not then my youth and courage hope  
 When me my *Soveraignes* favour did protect,  
 O what may not a *Princes* grace effect  
 When *Majestie* on hopelesse men doth smile  
 Whose joyes did seeme to perish in exile.  
 Even when *Queene Maries* tragick Raigne did end  
 My comick fortunes in their prime begun  
 That time when *Cynthia's* brightnesse did extend  
 To lighten this darke Land whose splendent Sunne  
 Was in Eclipse and sorrowes streame did runne  
 I like the glorious day-starre did appeare  
 With faire uprise, to grace this Hemisphere.  
 Since *Bute* first sway'd all this united Land  
 No Subject fitter held his *Soveraignes* grace,  
 My will imperiall for a Law did stand,  
 Such was my *Princes* pleasure, such my place,  
 As *Momes* durst not offer me disgrace;  
 What man did smile when *Leicester's* brow did frown  
 Whose wit could guide though never get the Crown  
 Whilst in this glorious Ocean I did swim  
 To high preferment divers men I brought,  
 Which since have sought my Honours Lamp to dim  
 Yea such as I before advanc'd of nought  
 Against my person treacheries have wrought,  
 Thus honours doe oft-times good manners change,  
 And men grown rich to ancient friends grow strange.  
 I grieve to thinke I did such men advance  
 And raise their base lines to a stately pitch  
 Under the shadow of my countenance  
 The substance of the Earth did make them rich  
 What fury did their fences thus bewitch,  
 Or was it some ill spirit that posselt them  
 To seeke my ruine whose large bounty blest them

Thus they in vaine my downefall did confpire  
 Like dogs that at the Moone doe fonally barke  
 And did but burne themselves like *Aetna's* fire,  
 Or like grim Owles did wonder in the darke  
 Contem'd of me that mounted like the Larke,  
 Or that rare bird that builds her nest on high  
 In Cedar Trees whole tops affront the skie.

When I commanded who durst countermand  
 Were not meane subiects, subject to my becke,  
 What man of worth my pleasure did with-stand,  
 What simple swaines could doe, I did not wreake  
 I gave the mate to those that gave me check  
 By the *Queenes* helpe and threatening lookes  
 I rul'd the pawnes, the Bishops, Knights, & Rooks.

Thus did I play at Chess and wonne the game  
 Having the queene my puillance to support,  
 The Bishops for ambition did me blame  
 The pawnes affirm'd I wan by much extort.  
 The Rooks & Knights found draughts to mar my sport,  
 Had not some stopt me with their timely checks,  
 I might have given them check without their necks.

My braine had wit, my tongue was eloquent  
 Fit to discourse or tell a Courtly tale  
 My presence portly brave Magnificent,  
 My words imperious, stout, substantiall  
 My gestures loving, kind, Heroicall;  
 My thoughts ambitious, proud, and full of ire,  
 My deeds were good or bad as times require.

Some of my foes that bare me deadly hate,  
 That had to them chiefe Offices assign'd,  
 And were my fellow Consuls in the State  
 Iealous still of my aspiring mind  
 Gave me this praise though otherwise vnkind,  
 That I was wondrous politique and wise,  
 A States-man that knew how to temporise.



Some others tooke me for a zealous man  
 Because good Preachers I did patronize,  
 And many thought me a Precisian  
 But God doth know, I never was precise  
 I seem'd devout in godly exercise :

And by Religious shew confirm'd my might  
 But who durst say, I was an hypocrite.

As *Numa* when he first did seeke to draw  
 The Roman people underneath his yoke,  
 Touching Religion he ordain'd a Law  
 And feyned he with Nimph *Egeria* spoke  
 That him to this good motion did provoke :  
 Whereby as if it were with heavens consent  
 He brought his men to civill government.

So when I came in high affaires to deale  
 Of sound Religion I did make a show  
 And by pretence of hot and fervent zeale  
 In wealth and faction I more strong did grow  
 For this by practice I did plainly know ;  
 That men are apt to yeeld to any motion  
 Made by a man that is of pure devotion.

Yet could I straine my Conscience for a need,  
 For though I seem'd an earnest Protestant  
 For gaine I favour'd Papist so indeed,  
 Some held me for a newter, and I grant  
 To serve my turne I would turne Puritan :  
 Thus by Religion, honour some doe winne  
 And this faire cloke oft covers filthy sinne.

Like as the ayre-sucking-Chamelion  
 Can him transforme to any hue save white ;  
 So men can turne to any fashion  
 Save to that forme which is sincere and right,  
 For though he may delude the peoples sight,  
 It is in vaine before God to dissemble  
 Whose power the Divels know, & knowing tremble

Was I the onely man that hath offended  
 In making holinesse a cloake for sinne ?  
 The Frenchmen for religions sake pretended  
 Their civill Warres of late time did begin,  
 But yet ambition chiefly drew them in,  
 Yea mad ambition, and desire of gaine  
 Makes endlesse broyles betwixt the States & Spain,

Of promises, I was so prodigall,  
 So kind, well spoken, and so liberall,  
 That to some great Divine as it might fall  
 Perhaps I promised a Bishoprick,  
 But in performance I was nothing quick ;  
 Thus with faire words, mens humours oft I fed  
 Whilst hope this while a good opinion bred.

To learned Schollers I was something franck  
 Not for the love that I to learning bore,  
 But either to get praise or pick a thanke  
 Of such as could the Muses aide implore  
 To consecrate my name for evermore ;  
 For he is blest that so befriended dyes  
 Whose praise the Muses will immortalize.

You that desire to have your fame survive  
 When you within your graves intomb'd shall lye,  
 Cherish those sacred Sisters while you live  
 For they be daughters of Dame memory  
 Of the thundring Monarch of the sky :  
 They have the gift to register with pen  
 Th' eternall fame or infamy of men.

The Students of the Vniversity  
*Oxford* whereof I was the Chancellor,  
 That Nurse of science and Philosophy  
 Knowing the greatnesse of my wit and power  
 Did honour me as the faire springing flower;  
 That in the Princeesse favour highly grew  
 Whom she with showers of gold did oft bedew.

At my command both *Dee* and *Allen* tended  
 By Magick Art my pleasure to fulfill  
 These to my service their best studies bended,  
 And why they durst not disobey my will,  
 Yea whatsoever was of secret skill  
 In Oxford or in Cambridge to be sold  
 I bought for love, for feare, or else for gold.  
 Doubtlesse the most renown'd Philosophers  
 As *Plato* and *Pitthagoras* have sought  
 To learne the Hieroglyphick Characters  
 And secrets which by Magick skill are wrought,  
 Such as th'Egyptians, Iewes, and Chaldees taught:  
 Th'art's not ill if men doe not abuse it,  
 No fault so bad, but some men will excuse it.

*Lopus* and *Iulio* were my chiefe Physicians,  
 Men that were cunning in the Art to kill  
 Good Schollers but of passing ill conditions,  
 Such as could ridde mens lives yet no blood spill,  
 Yea and with such dexterity and skill  
 Could give a dram of poyson that could slay  
 At end of the yeare, the moneth, the weeke or day.

I never did these wicked men imploy  
 To wrong my Prince or my true loving friend  
 But false deceitfull wretches to destroy  
 And bring them to an vnexpected end  
 Let them looke to it that did most offend,  
 Whose names are Registered in Pluto's scroules,  
 For I will never answer for their soules.

Knights and Esquires the best in every shire  
 Did waite on me in England up and downe,  
 And some among them did my Livery weare  
 My smiles did seeme to promise them renowne,  
 But dismall haps insu'd when I did frowne  
 As when the starre *Arcturus* doth appeare  
 Of raging Tempests Sea-men stand in feare.

As for the Souldiers and the men of warre  
 At home in service some I did retaine,  
 Others I sent abroad not very farre  
 At my commandment to returne againe,  
 These I with cost did secretly maintaine  
 That if ought chanced otherwise then well,  
 I might haue sent my foes to heauen or hell.

Likewise I brought the Lawyers in some awe,  
 The worthy students of the Innes of court,  
 That then applied them to the common Law,  
 Did yeeld to me in matters of import,  
 Although sometimes I did the Lawe extort,  
 And whether right or wrong; my cause once heard,  
 To plead against me made great Lords asfeard.

So the Lord *Barkley*, lost good lands by me,  
 Whereof perchance at first he did not dreame,  
 Might many times doth overcome the right,  
 It is in vaine to strive against the streame,  
 When he that is chiefe subiect in the Realme,  
 Vpon his Princes favour rests him bold,  
 He cannot or he will not be controld.

Thus by the Queene my puissance was upheld,  
 And for my foes I euer was too strong,  
 The grace I had from her all feare expeld,  
 I might wrong others, but not suffer wrong,  
 So many men did unto me belong,  
 Which on my favour chiefly did depend,  
 And for my sake both goods, and land would spend.

The best esteemed Nobles of the land.  
 On whose support the publique state relied,  
 Were linckt with me in friendships faithfull band,  
 Or else in kindred nerely were allied,  
 Their perfect loues and constant hearts I tried,  
 The inferior sort at our devotion stood  
 Ready to execute what we thought good.

The

The Earle of Warwicke my owne loving brother  
 My sisters Husband th' Earle of Huntington,  
 The bounteous Earle of Bedford was another  
 Of my best friends belov'd of every one  
 Sir *Henry Sidney's* power in *Wales* well knowne;  
 And there the Earle of *Pembroke* chiefe of all  
 Of kinne my friend what ever thence might fall

In *Barwick* my wives Uncle had chiefe power  
 The Lord of *Hundon* my assured friend,  
 In *Ireland* the Lord *Grey* was Governour,  
*Garnley* and *Jersey*, likewise did depend  
 Upon such men as did my will attend:

*Hopton* my man Lieutenant of the Tower  
 Was prompt to doe me service at an houre.

Sir *Edward Hovey* in the Isle of *Wight*  
 And noble Sir *George Cary* next bore sway,  
 Men of great courage and no little might  
 To take my part in any doubtfull fray  
 In *London* the Recorder *Fleetwood* lay:

That often us'd good words that might incense  
 The Citizens to stand in my defence.

The Prentises did likewise take my part  
 As I in private quarrels oft have tryde,  
 So that I had the very head and heart  
 The Court and City leaning on my side,  
 With flattery some, others with gifts I plyd,  
 And some with threats, stern looks & angry words.  
 I worne to my defence with Clubs and Swords.

Thus I by wisdom and fine pollicie,  
 Maintain'd the reputation of my life,  
 Drawing to me the flowre of Chivalrie  
 To succour me at need in civill strife  
 Men that lov'd change in every place were rife:  
 And all the realme was w<sup>th</sup> my power possist (best.  
 Think what this might have wrought but judge the

Like

Like *Claudius Marcellus* drawne through Rome  
 In his faire chariot which with Trophees deckt,  
 Crowned with Garlands by the Senates doome,  
 Whom they five times their Consul did elect  
 That from their foes he might their lives protect :  
 When he with conquest did his Country greet  
 Loaden with spoyles lay prostrate at his feet.

So did I ride in tryumph through chiefe townes  
 As if I had beene Vice-roy of this Land, (crownes  
 My face well grac'd with smiles, my purse with  
 Holding the reynes of honour in my hand,  
 I managed the state, I did command :  
 My lookes with humble majesty repleat,  
 Made some men with me a Kings royall seat.

Thus waxt I popular to purchase fame  
 To me the common peoples knees did bow,  
 I could my humour still so fitly frame  
 To entertaine all men to outward shew  
 With inward love, for few my heart did know :  
 And that I might not seeme puffed up with pride  
 Bare-headed oft through Cities I did ride.

While some cry'd out, God save you gracious Lord,  
 Loid how they did my fame hyperbolize  
 My words and gestures did so well accord  
 As with their hearts I seem'd to sympathize,  
 I charm'd their eares and did inchant their eyes :  
 Thus I was reckoned their chiefe Potentate  
 No poller but a pillar of the state.

Then I was call'd the life and th'heart o'th' Court  
 And some I wot wisht I had beene the head,  
 I had so great a trayne and such a port,  
 As did the pompe of *Martimer* exceed,  
 Who as in th'English Chronicles we read,  
 When second *Edward* lost his Kingly rights  
 Was waited on at once with nine-score Knights.

That

That Earle of March and *Roger Mortimer*,  
 Rul'd the young King, queene mother, and the Peeres  
 I *Robert Dulle* Earle of Leicester,  
 Did sway in court and all the English steeres,  
 His rule was short, mine flourish many yeares  
 He did his life with ignominy loose,  
 I lived and triumpht o're my proudest foes.

As the Image of great *Alexander* dead,  
 Made king *Cassander* tremble at the sight,  
 Spying the figure of his Royall head,  
 Whose presence sometime did the world affright,  
 Or like as Cæsars Monarchising spright,  
 Pursued false *Brutus* at *Philippes* field,  
 Till he that slew his Liege himselve w's kild.

So view yee petty Lords my Princely ghost,  
 I speake to you whose hearts be full of gall,  
 I whilst I liued was honour'd of the most,  
 And e'ther fear'd for love of great and small,  
 Or lov'd for feare of such as wisht my fall,  
 Behold my shadow representing state,  
 Whose person sometime did your pride abate.

Weigh what I was, knights, gentlemen, and Peeres,  
 When my death threatening frowns did make you quake  
 As yet they have not passed many yeares,  
 Since I your plumes pluckt, lofty crest's did shake  
 Then tell me Sirs, for old acquaintance sake,  
 Wax yee not pale to heare of *Leisters* name,  
 Or to backebite me blush ye not for shame.

You say in dealings that I was unjust,  
 As if true Iustice ballance yee could guide,  
 Had I dealt justly I had turnd to dust  
 Long before this, your corps swolne vp with pride,  
 Which now surviving doe my acts deride,  
 My fame yet liues though death abridgd my daies,  
 Some of you did that over-liv'd your prayle.

Are



( II )

Are there not some among you Parasites,  
Time-servers, and observers of no measure,  
Prince-pleasers, people-pleasers, hypocrites,  
Damnd Machiavilians giuen to lust and pleasure,  
Church-robbers, beggers of the Princes treasure,  
Trece-breakers, Pirats, Achiefts, Sicophants,  
Can equity dwell heere where conscience wants.

And yet you thinke none justly deales but you,  
Divine Astrea vp to heauen is fled,  
And turnd to Libra, there looke up and view  
Her ballance in the zodiacke figured,  
Iust Aristides once was banished,  
Where liues his match whom enuy did pursue-  
Because men thought he was to just and true.

Yee say, ambition harbourd in my braine,  
I say ambition is no heynous sinne  
To men of state, do stately thoughts pertaine,  
By baser thoughts what honour can he win,  
Who ever did a great exploit begin,  
Before ambition moved him to the deed  
And hope of honour, urg'd him to proceed.

Themistocles had never put to flight,  
Zerxes huge host, nor tam'd the Persians pride,  
Nor sad King *Tarsus* got by martiall fight,  
The Romane spoyles with conquest on his side,  
If first ambition had not beene their guide,  
Had not this humor their stout hearts allure,  
To high attempts their fame had beene obscure.

The Eagle doth disdain to catch poore flies,  
The Lyon with the Ape doth scorne to play,  
The Dolphin doth the whirlpoole low dispise,  
Thus if Birds, Beasts, and Fishes beare such sway,  
If they would teach vnderlings to obey,  
Much more should men whom reason doth adorne,  
Be noble minded and base fortunes scorne.

Admit I could dissemble wittily,  
 This is no grievous sinne in men of state ;  
 Dissembling is a point of policie  
 Plaine dealing now growes stale and out of date :  
 Wherefore I oft conceal'd my private hate  
 Till I might find fit time though long I stay'd  
 To wreake the wrath that in my heart I layd.

Th'old Proverbe is, plaine dealing is a jewell,  
 And he that useth it a Begger dyes,  
 The world is now adayes become so cruell  
 That Courtiers doe plaine Country-men despise,  
 Quicke wits and cunning heads doe quickly rise.  
 And to be plaine, yee must not plainly deale  
 That office seeke in Court or Common-weale.

Now *Arctippus* is in more request  
 That knew the way to please a Monarchs mind,  
 Then that poore cynicke swad that us'd to jest  
 At every idle knave that he could find,  
 To unkind friends yee must not be too kind :  
 This is a maxime which to you I give,  
 Men must dissemble or they cannot live.

Yee say, I was a coward in the field,  
 I say it fits not such a noble wight  
 To whom his Countrey doth the title yeeld  
 Of Lord-Lieutenant with full power and might  
 To venture his owne person in the fight:  
 Let others dye, which as our vassalles serve  
 While heaven for better haps our hopes preserve.

How soone did Englands joy in France diminish  
 When th' Earle of Salisbury at Orleance  
 By Gun-shot stroke, his honour'd life did finish ;  
 When *Talbot* that did oftentimes advance  
 The English ensignes in disgrace of France,  
 Was at the last invironed and slaine  
 Whose name the French-mens terror doth remaine

And

And what a fatall wound did Rome receive  
 By *Craſſus* death whom faithleſſe Parthians ſlew,  
 How did the Senate for *Flaminius* grieve  
 And for *Æmilus* death, and his ſtout crew,  
 Whom *Haniball* at Cannas did ſubdue:  
 Cut off an arme, yet life the heart may cheriſh  
 Cut of the head and every part will periſh.

*Iſocrates* th' Athenian uſ'd to ſay,  
 Vaunt-currers are like hands to battell preſt  
 The men of armes are feet whercon to ſtey,  
 The footmen as the ſtomach and the breſt,  
 The captaine as the head above the reſt:  
 The head once craſed troubleth all the parts,  
 The Generall ſlaing doth kill tenthouſand hearts.

Therefore a Lord Lieutenant ſhould take care  
 That he in ſafety doe himſelfe reſt  
 And ſhould not hazard life at every dare,  
 But watch and ward, ſo *Felice* tir'd his foes  
 When rath *Mintus* did the conqueſt loſe:  
 It ſuch in open danger will invade  
 It is ſord rathneſſe and not tourmente.

Yee ſay, I was laſcivious in my love  
 And that I tempted many a gallant Dame,  
 Not to content, but I did alſo prove  
 To winne their handmaids if I lik'd the game,  
 Why ſis yee know, love kindles ſuch a flame  
 As if we may believe what Poets pen  
 It doth inchant the hearts of Gods and men.

*Iove* lov'd the daughter of a jealous ſire  
*Danae* a maid amur'd within a tower,  
 Yet to accompliſh th'end of his deſire  
 He metamorphiz'd to a golden ſhower  
 Fell in the lap of his faire Paramour:  
 And being team'd a god did not diſdaine  
 To turne to man, to beaſt, and ſhower of raine.

Deere Lords, when Cupid throwes his fiery darts  
 Doth none of them your tender bodies hit,  
 Doth *Citherea* never charme your hearts,  
 Nor beauty try your quintessentiall wit  
 Perhaps you will say no, tis unfit,

Now by my Garter, and my *George* to boot,  
 'Tis he blind God surely hits, if he doth shoote.

Whereas ye doe object my Magick charmes,  
 'Tis better so then strive by force of Armes  
 For forced love will quickly backe retire  
 If faire meanes cannot winne what we require :

Some secret tricks and sleights must be devised  
 That love may even from Hell be exercised.

To you dull wit it seemes impossible  
 By drinckes or charmes this worke to passe to bring,  
 Know then that *Giges* were invisible  
 By turning the sigill of his Ring  
 Toward his palme and thereby slew the King,  
 Lay with his wife of any man unseene  
 Lastly did raigne by marrying with the queene.

King *salomon* for Magick naturall  
 Was held a cunning man by some Divines,  
 He wrote a booke of Science naturall  
 To bind ill Spirits in their darke confines  
 He had great store of wives and Concubines,  
 Yet was a Sacred King, this I inferre  
 The wisest man that now doth live may erre.

Also yee say, that when I waxed old  
 When age and time mispent had made me dry,  
 For ancient, held in carnall Lust is cold,  
 Natures defect with Art I did supply  
 And that did helpe this imbecility,

I us'd strong drincks and Oynments of great price,  
 Whose taste or touch might make dead flesh alive

To this I answer : that those fine extractions,  
 Drums and electuaries finely made,  
 Serv'd not so much to helpe veneriall actions,  
 As for to comfort nature that's decay'd :  
 Which being with indifferent judgment weigh'd,  
 In noble men may be allowed I trust,  
 As tending to their health, not to their lust.

What if I drinke nothing but liquid gold,  
 Lactrina, cristall, pearle resolv'd in wine,  
 Such as th'Egyptians full cups did hold,  
 When *Cleopatra* with her Lord did dine;  
 A trifle, care nor, for the cost was mine ?  
 What if I gave Hippomenes to drinke  
 To some fair Dames, at smal faults you must wink?

Ye say I was a traytor to the Queene,  
 And that when *Monsieur* was in greatest grace,  
 I being out of favour, mov'd with spleene,  
 To see a Frenchman frolique in the place,  
 Forth toward Barwick then did post apace,  
 Minding to raise up a rebellious rout,  
 To take my part in what I went about.

That I was then a traytor I deny,  
 But I confesse that I was *Monsieurs* foe,  
 And sought to breake the league of amity,  
 Which then betwixt my Prince and him did grow,  
 Doubting Religion might be changed so,  
 Or that our Lawes and customes were in danger,  
 To be corrupt or altered by a stranger:

Therefore I did a faction strong maintaine,  
 Against the Earle of *Suffex*, a stout Lord  
 On *Monsieurs* side, and then Lord Chamberlain,  
 Who sought to make that nuptiall accord,  
 Which none may breake, witnesse the sacred Word:  
 But thus it chanced, that he striv'd in vaine  
 To knit that knot which heaven did not ordaine.

Thus did ye mis-interpret my conceits,  
 That for disloyalty my deeds did blame,  
 Yet many men have laid their secret baits,  
 T' intrap me in such snares to work my shame,  
 Whom I in time sufficiently did tame,  
 And by my Sovereignes favour bore them downe,  
 Proving my selfe true Liegeman to the Crowne.

Thinke yee I could forget my Sovereigne Lady,  
 That was to me so gracious and so kinde?  
 How many triumphs for her glory made I?  
 O I could never blot out of my minde,  
 What Characters of grace in her have shin'd.  
 But some of you, which were by her prefer'd,  
 Have with her bones almost her name inter'd.

When she was gone, which of you all did weep?  
 What mournfull song did *Philomela* sing?  
 Alas! when she in deaths cold bed did sleepe,  
 Which of you all her dolefull knell did ring?  
 How long will yee now love your crowned King,  
 If you so soon forget your old Queen dead,  
 Which foure and fourty yeares hath governed?

Yee say, I sought by murder to aspire,  
 And by strong poyson many men to slay,  
 Which as ye thought might crosse my high desire,  
 And cloud my long expected golden day,  
 Perhaps I laid some blocks out of my way,  
 Which hindred me from comming to the Bower,  
 Where *Cynthia* shin'd like lamps in *Pharos* tower.

Alas! I came not of a Tygers kinde,  
 My hands with blood I hated to defile;  
 But when by good experience I did finde,  
 How some with fained love did me beguile,  
 Perchance all pittie then I did exile;  
 And as it were against my will, was prest  
 To seek their deaths that did my life detest.

Lo then, attend to heare a dolefull tale  
 Of those whose death y<sup>e</sup> doe suppose I wrought,  
 Yet wish I that the world beleeeve not all  
 That hath of me by envious men been wrought,  
 But when I for a Kingly fortune sought,  
 O pardon me, my selfe I might forget,  
 And cast downe some, my state aloft to set.

My first wife fell downe from a paire of staires,  
 And brake her neck, and so at Comner dy'd,  
 Whilst her true servants led with small affaires,  
 Unto a Faire at Abingdon did ride,  
 This dismal hap did to my wife beride;  
 Whether yee call it chance or destiny,  
 Too true it is, she d<sup>d</sup> untimely dye.

O had I now a showre of teares to shed,  
 Lockt in the empty circles of my eyes,  
 All could I shed in mourning for the dead,  
 That lost a spouse so young, so faire, so wise,  
 So faire a corps so foule a co<sup>r</sup>se now lies,  
 My hope t<sup>h</sup>ave married with a famous Queene,  
 Drove pittie back, and kept my teares unscene.

What man so fond that would not lose a Pearle  
 To finde a Diamond, leave brasle for gold:  
 Or who would not forsake a gallant gire,  
 To win a Queen, great men in awe to hold,  
 To rule the state, and of none be control'd?  
 O but the steps that lead unto a throne;  
 Are dangerous for men to tread upon.

The Cardinall *Chatillion* was my foe,  
 Whose death peradventure did compact,  
 Because he let Queen *Elizabeth* to know  
 My false report given of a former act,  
 How I with her had made a precontract.  
 And the great Princes hope I bar'd thereby;  
 That sought to marry with her Majesty.



The Prelate had bin better held his tongue,  
 And kist his holy Fathers feet in Rome;  
 A Masse the sooner for his soule was sung;  
 But he might thanke me, had he staid at home,  
 Or late or never he to heaven had come:  
 Therefore I sent him nimble from the coasts,  
 Perhaps to supper with the Lord of hosts.

When death by hap my first wives neck had crackt,  
 And that my suit unto the Queene ill sped,  
 It chanced that I made a post contract,  
 And did in sort the Lady *Sheffield* wed,  
 Of whom I had two goodly children bred:  
 For the Lord *Sheffield* died as I was sure,  
 Of a Catarre, which phyicke could not cure.

Some thinke the rhume was artificiall,  
 Which this good Lord before his end did take:  
 Tush, what I gave to her was naturall,  
 My plighted troth yet some amends did make,  
 Though her at length, unkinde I did forsake;  
 She must not blame me, for a higher reach  
 Made my sure promise finde a sudden breach.

The valiant Earle whom absent I did wrong,  
 In breaking Hymeneus holy band;  
 In Ireland did protract the time too long,  
 Whilst some in England ingled under hand,  
 And at his coming homeward to this land  
 He dyed with poyson, as they say, infected,  
 Not without cause, for vengeance I suspected:

Because this fact, notorious scandall bred,  
 And for I did his gallant wife abuse;  
 To salve this sore when this brave Lord was dead,  
 I for my selfe did this faire Lady chuse,  
 And flesh is fraile, deare Lady me excuse;  
 It was pure love that made me undertake,  
 This haplesse recontract with thee to make.

Now

Now in Joves pallace that good Lord doth sup,  
 And drinke full bowles of Nector in the skie,  
*Hunnies* his page, that tasted of that cup,  
 Did onely loose his haire, and did not dye;  
 True-noble Earle, thy fame to heaven doth flye.  
 He doth repent his fault, and pardon crave,  
 That marr'd thy bed and too soon made thy grave:

Thou didst behinde thee leave a matchlesse Sonne,  
 A peerlesse paterne for all princely peeres,  
 Whose sparks of glory in my time begun,  
 Kindled with hope flam'd highly in few yeeres,  
 But death him struck, and drown'd this land in teares;  
 His Sonne doth live true image of him dead,  
 To grace this soil, where showers of tears were shed.

They were to blame that said the Queen should marry  
 With me her Horse keeper, for so they call'd me.  
 But thou *Throgmarton* which this tale didst carry  
 From France to England, hast more sharply gall'd me,  
 Sirsh my good Queene in office high extold me;  
 For I was Master of her Highnesse Horse,  
 I scorne thy words, which did my hate inforce.

But tell me then, how didst thou like thy fare,  
 When I to supper last did thee invite?  
 If I did rid thee of a world of care,  
 By giving thee a Saler, gentle Knight,  
 With gastly lookes doe not my soule affright:  
 Lester I was, whom England once did dread,  
 But now I am like thee *Throgmarton*, dead.

My Lord of Suffex was too cholerick,  
 That call'd me traitor and a traitors sonne;  
 But I serv'd him a fine Italian trick;  
 Had not I done so, I had bin undone;  
 Now marke the end, what conquest hath he won?  
 A litle scruple that to him I sent,  
 Did purge his choler, till his life was spent.

He was a gallant Noble man indeed ;  
 O but his life did still my life decrease :  
 Therefore I sent him with convenient speed,  
 To rest amongst his ancestors in peace :  
 My rage was pacifi'd at his decease.

And now I come t'imbrace his love too late,  
 Him did I love, whom living I did hate,

I came to visit as I chanc'd to walke  
 My Lady of Lenex, whom I found not well,  
 I took her by the hand, had private talke,  
 And so departed, a short tale to tell :  
 When I was gone, into a flux she fell,  
 That never ceast her company to keep,  
 Till it had brought her to a senslesse sleep.

I dream'd she had not many dayes to live ;  
 And this my dreame did shortly fall out true,  
 So as her Ghostly Father I did give  
 Some comfort to her soule : for well I knew  
 That she would shortly bid the world adiew.  
 Some say I gave such physick as did spill her;  
 But I suppose that meere conceit did kill her.

Some will object perhaps, I did pretend  
 To meet the Earle of Ormond on a day,  
 In single fight our quarrell for to end ;  
 But did command my servant *Killygray*,  
 To lye in ambush that stout Lord to slay.  
 But heaven did not consent to work his spoile,  
 That was the glory of the Irish soile.

Perhaps I doubted that I was too weake,  
 And loath I was he should the conquest win :  
 If in this cause I did my promise breake,  
 I hope men will not count it for a sin ;  
 Is it not good to sleep in a whole skin ?  
 When *Hannibal* could not prevaile by blowes,  
 He used stratagems to kill his foes.

If I the death of Monsieur *Simiers* fought,  
 When he from France Amb *ffadour* was sent,  
 I had just cause to seeke it as I thought;  
 For towards me he bore no good intent;  
 Had he not fled betimes, perhaps I ment  
 T'have sent him in embassage for my pleasure  
 To the black king that keeps *Avernus* treasure;

For when no man about the Court durst speak,  
 That I the Lady *Letrice* married,  
 This prating Frenchman first the ice did breake,  
 And to the *Queen* the fact discovered;  
 Which not without just cause the anger bred:  
 Thus th'ape did play his part control'd of none,  
 When he espi'd the Beare from home was gone.

One *Salvadore* an Italian borne,  
 Having once watcht with me till mid'st of night,  
 Was found slaine in his bed the next day morne:  
 Alas poore man I rue his wofull plight,  
 That did in nothing but in sinne delight:  
 Had he to honest actions bent his wit,  
 He might have longer liv'd and scap'd this fit.

But what reward should such a man expect,  
 Whom gold to any lewdnesse could entice,  
 Ones turne once serv'd, why should we not reject  
 So vilde an instrument of damned vice?

What if he were dispatched in a trice?  
 Was it not better this mans blood to spill,  
 Then let him live the world with sinne to fill?

I doubted lest that *Draughty* would bewray  
 My counsell, and with others party take;  
 Wherefore, the sooner him to rid away,  
 I sent him forth to sea with Captaine *Drake*,  
 Who knew how t'entertainment him for my sake;  
 Before he went his lot by me was cast,  
 His death was plott'd, and perform'd in hast.

He hoped well; but I did so dispose,  
 That he at Port St. *Iulian* lost his head,  
 Having no time permitted to disclose  
 The inward griefes that in his heart were bred:  
 We need not feare the biting of the dead:  
 Now let him goe transported to the seas,  
 And tell my secrets to th' Antipodes.

My servant *Gates* did speed as ill or worse,  
 To whom I did my close intents impart,  
 And at his need with money stufte his purse,  
 And wil'd him still take courage at his heart;  
 Yet in the end he felt the deadly smart:  
 He was inveigled by some subtle witted,  
 To rob; so he was taken and committed.

Of pardon I did put him still in hope,  
 When he of felony was guilty found,  
 And so condemn'd, till his last friend the Pope  
 Did him uphold from falling to the ground.  
 What hope of grace where vice did so abound.  
 He was beguil'd like birds that use to gape  
 At *Zeuxes* table for a painted grape.

Yet I did to the man no injury,  
 And gave him time and leasure to repent,  
 And well he knew he had deserv'd to dye,  
 Therefore all future mischiefse to prevent,  
 I let him slip away with my consent:  
 For his reprivall, like a crafty Fox,  
 I sent no pardon but an empty Box.

Else as unfaithfull *Banester* betraid  
 The Duke of Buckingham his Master deare,  
 When he of *Richards* tyranny afraid,  
 Fled to his servants house for succour there:

So might my man for gaine, or forc'd for feare,  
Have brought my corps with shame unto my grave,  
By too much trusting on a paltry knave.

Me seems at me great Norfolkes Duke doth frowne,  
Because he thinks I did his death contrive,  
Perswading some he aimed at the Crowne,  
And that by royall match he meant to strive  
A kingdome to his Lordship to revive.

Alas good Duke ! he was too meek and milde,  
And I too faithlesse that his trust beguill'd.

For that I found his humour first was bent  
To take the Scots captiv'd Queen to wife,  
I egg'd him on to follow his intent,  
That by this meanes I might abridge his life,  
And she a crown'd Queen to stint all strife,  
First finding Scotland lost, to England fled,  
Where she in hope of succour lost head.

O blessed Spirits, live yee evermore  
In heavenly Sion, where your maker reignes,  
And give me leave my fortunes to deplore,  
That am fast fetterd with sins iron chaines.  
Mans most sweet joys are mixt with some foul pains,  
And doth he live of high or low degree,  
In life or death that can from woe be free ?

Ah now my tongue growes weary to recite  
Such massacres as have been here exprest,  
Whose sad remembrance doth afflict my spright,  
Me thinks I see legions of soules to rest  
In *Abrabams* bosome, and my selfe oppress.  
The burden of my sinnes doe weigh me downe,  
At me the fiends doe laugh, and Angels frowne.

My crimes I grant were great and manifold,  
 Yet not so heynous as men make report,  
 But flattering Parafires are growne so bold  
 That dicy of Princes matters make a sport;  
 To please the humors of the vulgar sort:  
 And that poore peevish giddihheaded crew,  
 Are prone to credit any tale untrue.

Let those that live endeavour to live well,  
 Lest after death like mine their guilt remaine;  
 Let no man thinke there is no Heaven or Hell,  
 Or with the impious Sadduces maintaine  
 That after death no flesh shall rise againe:  
 Let no man trust on Fortunes sickle wheele,  
 The guerdon due for sinne I partly feele.

Know that the Prince of heavenly Seraphims,  
 When he 'gainst his Creator did rebell,  
 Was tumbled downe for his presumptuous sinne;  
 Sathan that once was blest like lightning fell  
 From the highest heaven, to the deepest hell:  
 And all those Angells that his part did take,  
 Have now their portion in the burning lake.

Of mighty heapes of treasure I could vant,  
 For I reapt profit out of every thing,  
 I could the Prince and peoples hearts inchant,  
 With my faire words and smoothfac'd flattering;  
 And out of drossie pure-gold I oft did wring:  
 For though the meanes to win be oft unmeet,  
 The smell of luere ever smelleth sweet.

So I sometimes had very much good hap  
 Great suites of my dread Sovereigne to obtaine,  
 Prodigall fortune powr'd down from her lap,  
 Angels of gold as thick as drops in raine.  
 Such was my luck to finde the golden veine;  
 Likewise with me it seemed nothing strange,  
 Both rents and lands oft with my Prince to change.



had another way to enrich my selfe  
 By getting licences for me alone,  
 For Wine, Oyle, Velvet, Cloath, and such like pelfe,  
 By licences to alienation,  
 By raising rents, and by oppression:  
 By claiming Forrests, Pastures, Commons, Woods,  
 And forfeiture of lands, of life and goods.

By this strong course also I greatly thrived  
 In falling out with my deere Sovereigne,  
 For I the Plot so cunningly contrived,  
 That reconcilment soone was made againe,  
 And by this meanes great gifts I did obtaine:  
 For that I might my bags the better fill,  
 I beg'd great iuxes as pledge of new goodwill.

Besides sometimes I did encrease my store,  
 By benefit that I from Oxford tooke,  
 Electing heads of houses heretofore,  
 I lov'd their money, and they lov'd their booke,  
 Some poorer though more learned I forsooke:  
 For in those daies your charity was cold,  
 Little was done for love, but much for gold.

Doubtlesse my Father was a valiant Peere  
 In Edward the sixt daies when he was sent,  
 Gainst Rebels that did rise in Norfolkshire,  
 And after that when he to Scotland went,  
 Under the Lord Protector's Regiment,  
 By notable exploits against the Scot,  
 Eternall glory to himselfe he got.

Truly ambition was his greatest faule,  
 Which commonly in noble hearts is bred,  
 He thought the never could his state exalt  
 Till the good Duke of Sumersets was dead,  
 Who by my Fathers meanes did lose his head:  
 So ill the race of Dudleys could endure  
 The Seymours lives which did their fame obscure.

When

When once King *Edward* at the butt had shot,  
 My Father, sayd, your Grace shoots neere the mark,  
 The King repli'd, but not so neere I wor,  
 As when you shot my Vncles head off quite:  
 The duke my Father knew the King said right,  
 And that he ment this matter to debate  
 If ere hee liv'd to come to mans estate.

It seemes my Father in times past had been  
 A skillfull Archer, though no learned clerke,  
 So strange a chance as this is seldome seen,  
 I doe suppose he shot not in the dark,  
 That could so quickly hit so faire a mark:  
 Nor have I mist my aime, nor worse have sped,  
 When I shot off the Duke of Norfolks head.

Now when the Duke of Somerset was dead,  
 My Father to the French did Bulloigne sell,  
 As pleased him the King he governed,  
 And from the privy counsell did depell  
 The earles of Southampton, and of Arundell:  
 Thus whilst he ruled and controuled all,  
 The wise young King extreemly sick did fall.

Who having languisht long, of life deprived,  
 Not without poison as it was suspected;  
 The counsell through my Fathers meanes contrived  
 That Suffolks Daugther should be Queen elected,  
 The Sisters of King *Edward* were rejected:  
 My brother *Guilford* to *Iane Gray* was wedded,  
 Too high preferr'd that was so soone beheaded.

This Lady *Iane* that once was tearmed Queen,  
 Greater in fame then fortune, was put downe,  
 Had not King *Henries* Daughters living been,  
 Might for her vertues have deserv'd a Crowne;  
 Fortune at once on her did smile and frowne:  
 Her wedding garment for a Princes meet  
 Was quickly changed for a winding sheet.

For I was iump of *Julius Cæsars* minde  
 That could no one superior Lord endure,  
 Nay I to guide my Sovereigne was inclin'd,  
 And bring the common people to my lure,  
 Accounting that my fortune was obscure,  
 And that I lived in a wofull plight  
 If any one eclips'd my glorious light.

The love to reigne makes many men respect  
 Neither their friend, their kindred, nor their vow,  
 The love to reigne makes many men neglect  
 The duty which to God and man they ow,  
 From out this fountaine many mischeifes flow:  
 Hereof examples many may be read  
 In Chronicles of th' English Princes dead.

This humor made King *Harrold* break his oath  
 Made unto *William* Duke of Normandy:  
 This made King *Rufus* and young *Beauclark* both  
 Their elder Brother *Robert* to defie,  
 And *Stephen* to forget his loialty  
 To *Maud* the Empreffe, and to hold in scorne  
 The faithfull oath which he to her had sworne.

This made yongg *Henry* crowned by his fire,  
 Against his Father Warfare to maintaine:  
 This made King *Iohn* the kingdome to aspire,  
 Which to his Nephew *Arthur* did pertaine,  
 And him in prison hardly to retaine:  
 And this made *Bullingbrook* t'usurp the Crowne,  
 Putting his lawfull Sovereigne *Richard* downe.

This made *Edward* the fourth at his returne  
 From Burgundy, when he to Yørke was come,  
 To break the oath which he had lately sworne,  
 And rule the Realme in good King *Henries* roome;  
 This made the Tyrant *Richard* eke to doome  
 His Nephewes death, and rid away his wife,  
 And so in bloud to end his wretched life.

A pretty plot in practice I did put,  
 Either to take a *Queene* without delay,  
 Or when the cards were shuffled and well cut,  
 To chuse the King and cast the knaves away;  
 He should be cunning that great game would play;  
 Ill luck hath he that no good game can make,  
 When Princes play and crownes lye at the stake.

First I assayed *Queene Elizabeth* to wed,  
 Whom divers Princes courted, but in vaine;  
 When in this course unluckily I sped,  
 I sought the *Scots* *Queenes* marriage to obtaine;  
 But when I reapt no profit for my paine,  
 I sought to match *Denbigh* my tender childe  
 To *Dame Arbella*, but I was beguild.

Even as *Octavius* with *Marke Antony*,  
 And *Lepidus* the Roman Empire shar'd,  
 That of the world then held the soveraignty,  
 So I a new Triumverat prepar'd,  
 If death a while yong *Denbighs* life had spar'd,  
 The grandame, uncle and the father in law,  
 Might thus have brought all England under awe.

In the low Countries did my fame soare high,  
 When I was sent Lieutenant generall,  
 The *Queenes* proud foes I stoutly did deny,  
 And made them to some composition fall,  
 There I maintained port majesticall;  
 In pompe and triumph many dayes I spent,  
 From noble then my name grew excellent,

Then was my heart in height of his desire,  
 My minde puffed up with suiquedry and pride:  
 The vulgar sort my glory did admire,  
 Even as the Romans *Ave Caesar* cri'd,  
 When the Emperour to the Senat house did ride;  
 So did the Flemings with due reverence,  
 Like thunder say, God save your Excellence.

Few Subjects before me obtain'd this stile,  
 Unlesse they were as Viceroyes of this land:  
 The name of Lordship seem'd too base and vile,  
 To me that govern'd such a royall band,  
 And had a Princes absolute command:  
 Who did not of my puissance stand in awe,  
 That might put him to death by martiall law?

Loe, what a title hath my honour got,  
 And Excellency added to my name?  
 Can this injurious world so quickly blot  
 A name so great out of records of fame,  
 Covering my glory with a vale of shame?  
 Or will it now contemne me being dead,  
 Whom living even with feare it honoured?

The towne of Densborough I did besiege,  
 Which did on composition shortly yeeld:  
 I did good service to my gracious liege,  
 Till by ill counsellours I was beguild:  
 For such as were my Captains in the field,  
 To whom at length chiefe charge I did commit,  
 Seduced me to many things unfit.

When Sir *John Norris* counsell I refused,  
 Whose perfect skill in feats of armes I knew,  
 By *Rowland Yorke*s device I was abused,  
 Whereon some losse soone after did ensue;  
 Deventer towne and Zutphen sence I rue,  
 By *Yorke* and *Stanley* without many blowes,  
 Were rendred to the mercy of the foes.

And that which to my heart might more grieve strike,  
 Happened the death of that renowned Knight,  
 My Nephew *Sidney*, neere *Coleston* dike  
 Receav'd his deadly wound through fortunes spight,  
 I sent no fresh supply to him in fight;  
 I was not farre off with a mighty host:  
 So with his losse of life some fame I lost.

The

The Court in him lost a brave Courtier ;  
 The Countrey lost a guide, their faults to mend ;  
 The Campe did loose an expert Souldier ;  
 The City lost an honourable friend :  
 The Schooles a patron, their right to defend :  
 The Court, the Countrey, the Schools & City,  
 For *Sidneys* death still sing a mournfull ditty.

Now while my princely glory did abound,  
 Like rich *Lucullus* I great feasts did make,  
 And was for hospitality renown'd :  
 The use of armes I quickly did forsake ;  
 An easier taske I ment to undertake :  
 I tooke no joyes in wounds and broken pates,  
 But to carouse and banquet with the States.

Not *Heliogabalus*, whole dainty fare,  
 Did all the Roman Emperours feast exceed  
 In cost and rarenesse, might with mine compare,  
 Though he on braines of Ostriches did feed  
 And Phenicopteines, and that instead  
 Of oyle he us'd his lamps with balme to fill :  
 Such was the pleasure of this tyrants will.

To me Count *Egmonts* daughter did resort,  
 Of such brave Dames as Flanders still did yeeld ;  
 That it did rather seeme I came to court  
 A gallant Lady, then to pitch a field ;  
 For I did lay aside the sword and shield :  
 At cards and dice I spent the vacant dayes,  
 And made great feasts, instead of martial fraies

But whilst in games and love my time I spent,  
 Seeming secure, as though I car'd for nought :  
 My messengers abroad I daily sent,  
 As instruments of my still working thought,  
 Whereby my purpose oft to passe I brought,  
 And compasse what before I did devise,  
 At such a time as no man will surmise.

Thus

Thus great attempts I oft did enterprife,  
 Like a Magician that with some fine wile  
 Dazles the sight of the spectators eyes,  
 And with illusions doth their sense beguile,  
 Such policies my cunning did compile,  
 That I before mens eyes did cast a mist,  
 While I perform'd such matters as I list.

Ye that like apes doe imitate my deeds,  
 Hoping thereby like favour to obtaine;  
 Know that so high a spirit never breeds  
 In a blunt peasant, or unnurtured swaine,  
 But in my heart imperious thoughts did reigne:  
 No flegmatick dull milk-sop can aspire,  
 But one compact of th'element of fire.

He daily must devise some stratagem,  
 He must be rich, stout, liberall, and wise,  
 The humours of base men he must contemne,  
 He must be gracious in the peoples eyes,  
 He should be furnish'd with rare qualities,  
 With learning, judgement, policy and wit,  
 And such like parts as for the time are fit.

For every forward fellow is not borne  
 To be a *Scipio* or a *Maximus*,  
 Unlesse that wisdom doth his state adorne,  
 Or valour make his life more glorious,  
 Though he be base of birth like *Marius*,  
 Yet he by vertues aid aloft may come,  
 Like him that was seven times Consull in Rome.

*Ventidius* name at first was meane and base,  
 Till he the Parthians host had overthrowne,  
 And *Cicero* came not of noble race,  
 Borne at *Arpinia* a poore country towne,  
 Yet he made armes give place unto the gowne,  
 And Rome by his great wisdom freed from spoile,  
 Call'd him the father of their native soile.



Perhaps young Courtiers learne something to sing,  
 To skip or dance before their Mistres face,  
 To touch like *Orpheus* some enchanting string,  
 To run at tilt, to jet with stately pace,  
 Or by some fine discourse to purchase grace,  
 But cannot manage the affaires of State,  
 Which best belongs to each great Potentate.

Listen to me ye lusty Souldiers,  
 That in such favour high attempt to grow,  
 Experience bred in me this manly yeares,  
 Hath taught me cunning which you doe not know,  
 Some precepts here I doe intend to shew:  
 And if my Syren song please not great Peeres,  
 Then may they with *Ulysses* stop their eares.

Trust not a friend that is new reconcil'd,  
 In loves faire shew he may hide foule deceit;  
 By him ye unawares may be beguil'd,  
 Reveal to none your matters of great waight,  
 If any chance to know your lewd conceit,  
 Suspected to bewray your bad intent,  
 He ought to suffer death and banishment.

*Caligula* the scourge of famous Rome,  
 Wist all the Romanes had onely one head,  
 That when he list to give their fatall doome,  
 He might with one great blow strike all them dead,  
 So should he never need their hate to dread:  
 Even such a mischief I wist to my foes,  
 That many men might perish with few blowes.

But unto those that doe your favour seeke,  
 And by your helpe hope their low states to raise,  
 You must be courteous, bountifull, and meeke:  
*Caesar* by clemency won greatest praise,  
 And was esteem'd the mirrour of his dayes.  
 For it belongs to men of great estate,  
 To spare the poore, and rich mens mindes abate.

It's ill to be a rub upon that ground  
 Whereas the Prince the alley meanes to sweep,  
 Their owne conceits they fondly doe confound,  
 That into high attempts doe boldly creep,  
 And with their shallow pates doe wade so deep,  
 To hinder what their Sovereigne doth intend,  
 Or to controule what they cannot amend.

*Calisthenes* much torment did sustaine,  
 Because great *Alexanders* pride he checkt,  
 Grave *Seneca* choosing his death was slaine  
 By *Nero's* doome, whose faults he did correct:  
 Use not too sharpe rebukes, but have respect  
 Unto the persons, when great men doe evill,  
 The vengeance leave to God, or to the devill.

Be not too haughty, pride procureth hate,  
 And meane mens hate may turne to your disgrace,  
 Nor too familiar be in high estate,  
 For that will breed contempt among the base,  
 Observe a meane which winneth man much grace:  
 Speake well to all, trust none, use well your foes,  
 For this may purchase love where hatred growes.

And if that you doe feare your friend should change  
 To mount too highly in the Princes grace,  
 His praise to heaven then stick not to advance,  
 Say that the charge he beareth is too base,  
 And that his worth deserves farre better place,  
 So may you by this praise rid him away,  
 And so supply his place another day.

Say he will prove a terror in the field,  
 This private life doth much obscure his fame,  
 More fit to beare great *Ajax* sevenfold shield,  
 Then like *Sardanapalus* court a dame,  
 He idly lives at home, it is a shame.  
 His very presence may his foes appall,  
 Let him be sent Lieutenant Generall.

Now

Now if he chance to perish in some fight,  
 It was not your worke, but the chance of warres,  
 Or thus you may excuse your selves by sleight,  
 Blaming the influence of the angry starres,  
 That thus by death his future fortune barres,  
 And (sighing) we are sory, you may say,  
 That this brave man would cast himselfe away.

But if in feats of armes he have no skill,  
 If he be learned, wise, and eloquent,  
 By praising him thus may you have your will,  
 Procure him in ambassage to be sent  
 Far off, lest he returne incontinent,  
 As to the mighty *Cham*, or *Prestor Iohn*,  
 And triumph in his roome when he is gone.

Let no man think I exercis'd the ghost  
 Of this great Peere that sleepeth in the dust,  
 Or conjur'd up his spirit to this coast,  
 To presse him with despaire, or praise unjust :  
 I am not partiall, but give him his due,  
 And to his soule I wish eternall health :  
 Ne doe I think all written tales are true,  
 That are inserted in his Commonwealth :  
 What others wrote before, I do survive,  
 But am not like to those incens'd with hate,  
 And as I plainly write, so doe I strive  
 To write the truth, not wronging his estate :  
 Of whom it may be said, and censur'd well,  
 He both in vice and vertue did excell.

*Iamq̃ opus exegi,  
 Deus dedit his quoque finem.*

FINIS.

